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THE PAPYRUS BOOK

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It is only within the last thirty or forty years that material has been available for a first-hand study of one of the most important forms of book-production in the history of human civilization. Before the great discoveries of Greek papyri in Egypt, which have made the last generation so memorable to bibliographers and scholars, our knowledge of books written on papyrus (the material in predominant use during the great periods of Greek and Latin literature) was almost wholly derived from descriptions and allusions in the Greek and Latin authors themselves. Before 1890 very few papyrus books had come to light, and the materials for scientific induction were lacking. Now the tale of literary papyri reaches four figures, while the non-literary documents are innumerable. There is no lack of materials for forming conclusions which may be regarded as practically certain, though some gaps in our information remain to be filled.

The present paper will contain nothing, I think, that is new to the professed student of papyri. It aims only at bringing together, and placing on record in a publication where the

¹ Read before the Bibliographical Society, 15 March 1926.

bibliographer will be able to find it, information accumulated during a number of years, and partially accessible in a number of different places. It has nothing to do with the literary aspect of the discoveries of papyri; it is concerned only with the technical side of the use of papyrus as a material for books.

The *locus classicus* on the manufacture of papyrus is Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xiii. 12; but this can now be checked by reference to actual manuscripts, and some of its obscurities are thereby removed. The unit of manufacture was the single sheet (Gk. *καλλημα*). The pith of the papyrus plant having been cut into thin strips, these strips were laid down in two layers, in one of which the papyrus-fibres were placed horizontally, in the other vertically. The two layers were then fastened together by glue, the strength of which was supposed to be increased by the use of the turbid water of the Nile. Pressure was then applied, and unevennesses removed by use of the mallet and an ivory or shell polisher. The central portion of the pith was the best, and was therefore used for the best quality of writing material; the portions near the rind were employed only for inferior qualities. Quality was also shown in the width of the sheets, since only the better papyrus-pith gave fibres of even quality over a considerable length. In commerce therefore there were different sorts of papyrus, known by different names (Claudia, Augusta, Liviana, hieratica, amphitheatrica, Fanniana, Saitica, Taeniotica, emporetica) and distinguished by their width. Pliny's statement, however, represents only Roman practice. There is nothing to show that the same classification prevailed in Egypt, and it is impossible to identify the several categories in the papyri which have actually been found.

All that can be said is that in the best papyri, in which the quality of the material is obviously superior, the width of the sheets is usually greater. A few examples may be given. Several of the best Egyptian papyri have sheets of as much as 10½

inches in width, and in some they exceed 12 inches. In the papyrus of Nu the sheets actually reach a width of 15 inches. The Ani Papyrus, probably the finest extant Egyptian book, has sheets of 12-13 in. The Hunefer Papyrus has sheets varying between 10 and 11½ in. In the Greenfield Papyrus, on the other hand, which is a finely written hieratic roll, they are not more than 8½ in. The height of Egyptian papyri is also often very great. The Greenfield Papyrus measures 19 inches in height; Harris Papyrus I is 17 in., the Ani Papyrus 15 in., the papyri of Nu and Nekht, 13½ in.¹ These figures are far in advance of anything named by Pliny, and confirm the conclusion stated above that his statistics are not of universal application.

For Greek papyrus rolls the measurements are conspicuously smaller. Probably the finest Greek literary papyrus is a copy of the *Odyssey*, book III, in the British Museum (Pap. 271). This is composed of *κολληματα* measuring 13 × 9 in. A fine MS. at Berlin, containing a commentary on Plato's *Theaetetus*, has sheets measuring 12½ × 10 in. In the Bacchylides Papyrus (B.M. Pap. 733) they measure 9¼ × 8 or 9 in.; in the principal Hyperides MS. (B.M. Papp. 108, 115), 12 × 10 in. Other examples are as follows:

B.M. Pap. 132, Isocrates, *De Pace*, 11 × 7¾ to 8¾ in.

Bodl. Gr. class. A. 1 (P), *Il.* ii. 10¾ × 10½ in.

B.M. Pap. 742, *Il.* ii. 10¾ × 8½ (about).

B.M. Pap. 128, *Il.* xxiii. xxiv. 9¾ × 5 to 6 in.

B.M. Pap. 134, Hyperides in *Philippidem*, 9¾ × 7½ in.

Other papyri of exceptional height are B.M. Pap. 736 (*Il.* viii), which is 12½ in. high, P. Oxy. 843 (Plato, *Symposium*) and 844 (Isocrates, *Panegyricus*), both measuring 12½ in., and 448 (*Od.* xxii. xxiii), 11¾ in., and P. Tebt. 265 (*Il.* ii), 11½ in.; but with regard to these, either no complete *κόλλημα* is preserved

¹ All these are in the British Museum. I have no figures for Egyptian papyri elsewhere.

or I have no information as to their width. P. Tebt. 268 (Dictys Cretensis) surpasses all these in height, measuring 13 in. ; but it is written on the back of a non-literary document, and therefore is no evidence for the practice with regard to literary MSS. The tallest Greek papyrus known to me (B.M. Pap. 268) is a tax-register, measuring 15½ in. in height ; but the *κολλήματα* are only 5 in. wide. Finally it may be added that two very carefully written petitions (B.M. Papp. 354, 177) are written on single sheets measuring 8½ and 6½ in. in width.

It may be taken, therefore, as established that a papyrus sheet intended for use in the production of a roll on which a Greek work of literature might be inscribed rarely, if ever, exceeded 13×9 in., while something like 10×7½ in. would be more common for a book of average pretensions. Such sheets, then, were fastened together by glue to form a continuous roll ; and the next point of consideration is the normal length of a roll. A phrase of Pliny (*nunquam plures scapi quam vicinae*) has been taken to mean that no roll ever exceeded the length of twenty sheets ; but this is absurd in itself (since it would imply rolls of not more than 15 feet at the maximum), and is disproved by facts. A few figures will establish this ; they are taken from rolls actually extant.

As before, Egyptian papyri show much larger measurements than Greek. The longest roll known is a chronicle of the reign of Rameses II (Harris Papyrus I, B.M. 9999), written about 1200 B. C., which is 133 feet in length. Not much shorter is the Greenfield Papyrus, a copy of the Book of the Dead, which measures 123 feet. Great length was especially associated with ritual books, four copies of the Book of the Dead in the British Museum measuring respectively 77 ft. (Nebsemi), 76 ft. (Ani), 65½ ft. (Nu), and 46½ ft. (Nekht). Literary works are generally shorter, presumably because they were more required for actual use.

For Greek papyrus rolls the following dimensions can be

given, either from direct measurement or (in the case of fragmentary copies of known works) by calculation :

P. Grenf. 4 (*Il.* xxii-xxiv), 35 ft.

P. Oxy. 224 (Euripides, *Phoenissae*), 34 ft.

B.M. 108 + 115 (three orations of Hyperides, incomplete), 28 ft.

P. Oxy. 26 (Demosthenes, *Προόμια*), about 28 ft.

P. Oxy. 27 (Isocrates, *Περὶ Ἀντιδόσεως*), 25 ft.

P. Oxy. 843 (Plato, *Symposium*), 23 ft. 6 in.

P. Oxy. 844 (Isocrates, *Panegyricus*), 23 ft. 4 in.

P. Oxy. 16 (Thucydides, book iv), 23 ft.

B.M. 128 (*Il.* xxiii, xxiv), 20 ft.

P. Tebt. 265 (Homer, *Il.* ii), about 19 ft.

B.M. 132 (Isocrates, *Περὶ Ειρήνης*), 14 ft.

Single books of Homer, such as the Bankes Homer of *Il.* xxiv or the Harris Homer of *Il.* xviii, would have required only 7 and 6 ft. respectively ; but other books may have been associated with them.

The net result is that 35 feet may be taken as the extreme limit of a normal Greek literary roll. The only two instances which seem to require a greater length are P. Petrie 2, of the third century B. C., of Plato's *Phaedo*, and P. Oxy. 225, of Thucydides, book II, each of which would have occupied about 50 feet ; and in these cases it is possible that the book was divided into two rolls. It may be observed in passing that this conclusion is of some importance in connexion with the history of the books of the New Testament. A roll of about 32-5 feet would have sufficed to hold one of the longest books (Matthew, Luke, Acts), but no more. It is therefore certain that during the period when the papyrus roll was the normal form of book each of the Gospels and the Acts must have formed a separate volume, and that no such thing as a complete New Testament, or even a set of the four Gospels in one volume, can have been known.

It is now clear that Pliny's sentence cannot refer to the length of completed books. What it probably does mean is that the blank papyrus was prepared by the stationers in units known as *scapi*, and that these never exceeded the length of twenty sheets. An author would, however, be no more limited by this fact than a modern author is limited by the number of sheets in a quire of paper. He would add one *scapus* to another, and cut off his papyrus when he had completed a part of his work of convenient length, which we have seen was fixed by custom at not more than 35 feet.

The writing on the roll thus formed was arranged in columns (*σελίδες*). In the case of poetry, the width of the columns was necessarily determined by the length of the lines. In a papyrus of *Il. ii* (at Oxford, written in an exceptionally large hand), the width of the column of writing is about $7\frac{1}{2}$ in., or $9\frac{1}{4}$ in. including the margin. A similar MS. in the British Museum has about the same measurements. In the *Odyssey* papyrus mentioned above they are about $6\frac{1}{2}$ in. wide. In the *Bacchylides* papyrus they vary between 4 and $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches. In the earliest known literary papyrus, the MS. of *Timotheus* at Berlin, they vary between $6\frac{1}{2}$ and 10 in.; but this is an exceptional case, the writing being a large, heavy uncial, which takes up a great deal of room.

In prose MSS., where the scribe was at liberty to choose his own length of line, the measurements are much smaller. Three and a half inches is rather unusually wide (*Plato's Symposium*, P. Oxy. 843; *Louvre papyrus of Hyperides in Athenogenem*; *Berlin Theaetetus commentary*); $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. (*B.M. Hyperides in Philippidem*) or $1\frac{1}{4}$ in. (*Aristotle, Προτρεπτικός*, P. Oxy. 666) is unusually narrow. Between 2 and 3 inches is the normal width of a well-written papyrus which can be taken as a characteristic sample of the book-trade; the B.M. papyrus of *Hyperides in Demosthenem*, &c., which is a good specimen, has columns of 2 in. of writing with $\frac{1}{4}$ in. of margin. Literary texts

written in non-literary hands, like the papyrus of Aristotle's *Ἀθηναίων Πολιτεία*, cannot be taken as evidence for the usual methods of book-production.

It will be seen that the width of the columns bears no relation to the width of the sheets of which the papyrus was manufactured. The writing runs across the junctions of the sheets without difficulty.

The width of margins, as in a modern book, varies in accordance with the pretensions of the book to beauty of appearance. In the great Hyperides MS. the upper margin is $2\frac{1}{2}$ in., the lower 3 in., with $\frac{3}{4}$ in. between columns; in the *Theaetetus* commentary, $1\frac{3}{4}$ in., $2\frac{1}{2}$ in., and 1 in. It will be seen that the ancient book-designer realized the true proportions of margins much as a modern book-designer does, though the upper margin is perhaps rather larger in proportion to the lower than modern taste prefers. In the humbler class of books, as now, margins are much curtailed; and most of the papyri that have been discovered, which come from provincial Egypt, are of this kind. It is only the more handsomely written MSS. that give scope for those extensive marginal notes and additions with which conjectural criticism sometimes makes such free play.

At the beginning of a roll the width of a column seems often to have been left blank, no doubt with the object of giving the reader something to hold the roll by when reading it, and also of protecting the text from injury through accidental tearing. This space was not utilized, as one might have expected, to receive a title; titles, when they appear at all, are appended at the end, as in the colophons of incunabula.

We know from descriptions in Latin literature that in books with any pretensions to style rollers were attached to the ends of the papyrus, and these rollers were ornamented with projecting knobs, which might be of various shapes or colours. No examples of these have yet been found; though I once saw

some burnt papyrus rolls which had quills attached to one end, round which they were rolled. In other cases the ends of the roll are strengthened by an additional thickness of papyrus.

The purpose of lettering on the back of a modern book was answered by projecting labels (*σάλλυβοι*), of papyrus or vellum, on which the title of the book was written. These hung outwards as the rolls lay on the shelves of the library or stood in the buckets which served as portable book-cases. A few examples have survived.

The writing was normally on the side of the papyrus on which the fibres lay horizontally (known as the *recto* side); and for books intended for the book-trade this rule may be taken as universal. When writing material was scarce, however, the scribe might either continue to write on the back (*verso*); or he might use the back of a roll which already had writing on the *recto*. Such books were evidently merely copies for private use, or at best cheap copies for sale. We owe to them, however, some very valuable survivals, notably the *Ἀθηναίων Πολιτεία* of Aristotle, the Funeral Oration of Hyperides, and the Oxyrhynchus Ephorus. Another method of utilizing already once-used papyrus was to wash off the original writing with a damp sponge; whence the origin of the familiar word *palimpsest*.

The history, or at any rate the picture, of the papyrus roll must be completed from references to it in Greek and especially Latin literature. It must always be remembered that the papyri known to us rarely, if ever, represent the best specimens of the book market of their day, and never in perfect condition. They come from provincial Egypt, from the rubbish heaps or ruins of second-rate towns. They cannot be expected to represent the standards of Alexandria or Rome. If we want to know what a handsome book looked like in the days of the late Republic or the early Empire, we must go to Catullus, Tibullus, and Martial. It is they who tell us of the pumice with

which the papyrus was smoothed, of the cedar-oil with which it was anointed, of the black or painted knobs projecting from its rollers, of the scarlet strings with which it was tied, of the purple or yellow vellum wrapper in which it was enclosed, of the crimson strip attached to it which announced its contents, of the boxes (*scrinia*) or buckets (*capsulae*) in which it was housed.¹ The passages are well known, and are recorded in the recognized authorities, such as Birt, Gardthausen, or Thompson; and I will not repeat them here.

Before quitting the subject of the papyrus roll, it is of importance to consider the length of its prevalence as the ruling form of book-production. In Egypt, the home of the papyrus plant, its reign is continuous, from the earliest times of which we have evidence until well after the Arab conquest. The earliest extant Egyptian papyrus is believed to be the Prisse Papyrus in Paris, which is assigned to about 2200 B. C.; but there is good evidence of written literature, which it is safe to assume was inscribed on papyrus, at least a thousand years earlier. For Greek literature the evidence is unfortunately less complete. For the thousand years from about 300 B. C. to A. D. 700 we have a continuous chain of evidence derived from extant specimens, practically all (except the charred rolls from Herculaneum) coming from Egypt. The earliest Greek papyrus with a date is a non-literary document of the year 311 B. C., and no undated papyrus has any claim to take precedence of this. The earliest literary papyrus is undoubtedly the Timotheus MS., which may be placed about 300 B. C. Before this date we have no direct evidence from extant specimens, but must depend on allusions in Greek literature, which are not numerous.

The most valuable of these for our present purpose is the statement of Herodotus (v. 58) that certain Ionians 'once' during a scarcity of papyrus used the skins of goats and sheep

¹ e.g. Catullus xxii. 6-8, lxviii. 36; Tibullus iii. 1. 9-14; Ovid, *Tristia* i. 105-6; Martial iii. 2. 7-11; v. 6. 13-15.

as material for books, and that many 'barbarians' did so even down to his own day. It is plain from this that to Herodotus the idea of any civilized people writing on any other material than papyrus, except under the temporary pressure of necessity, was inconceivable, and it is therefore safe to conclude that no recollection of the habitual use of any other material survived in the Greece of his day. We can therefore carry back the predominance of papyrus with absolute certainty to 500 B.C., and with very high probability far enough back to cover the whole of the period of the great lyric poets of the sixth century. Nor is there any reason why it should not date back to the origin of Greek writing. The material was ready at hand in Egypt. It would have been a natural article of traffic for the Phoenicians, who brought letters to Greece. There is no evidence of the use of any other material. In short, the burden of proof rests upon those who would maintain that the Greeks ever used anything but papyrus as the main vehicle of their literature.

As to the other end of the period, the evidence is more definite. Up to the end of the third Christian century the predominance of the papyrus roll is well marked. But early in the fourth century, under influences which are well known but which need not be discussed here, papyrus was definitely superseded by vellum as the material for the best books (the *Codex Vaticanus* of the Bible is the monument of this victory); and while papyrus continued in use, certainly in Egypt and probably outside, for some centuries longer, the papyrus roll had as its competitor a new form of book, to which it is now time to turn, the papyrus codex.

The codex form of book is that to which we are accustomed in all medieval and modern books, in which a sheet of writing material, such as vellum or paper, is folded so as to form leaves and pages, a number of sheets being sewn together to form a

book. It is fairly clear that it originated in the wooden tablets (generally waxed) which were used for note-books in Italy and Greece. Two or more of such tablets, fastened together by their inner sides, made an elementary codex or book. It was easy to follow this practice with a sheet of prepared skin, or vellum, which had the advantage of being lighter and more portable than a set of tablets. The earliest examples of vellum as a writing material have quite recently come to light at Dura, on the Euphrates. These are documents written in Greek on one side only of sheets of vellum, and in one case the sheet is folded (with the writing inside) so as to form an incipient codex. The date is fixed by one of the texts, which mentions years equivalent to 195 and 190 B. C.; and this date coincides with that of the well-known story of the adoption of vellum for use in book-production by Eumenes of Pergamum (197-159 B. C.).

From the beginning of the second century B. C., therefore, we may take it that the use of the folded sheet of vellum was known in the Greek world, whence, no doubt, it passed to the Romans. In the time of Martial (second century after Christ) we have proof of the existence of vellum codices, though still only as an inferior class of book-production. But it is not until the following century that we find the codex form creeping into use in papyrus. The earliest examples cannot be precisely dated, but there are some which can be assigned to the third century (e. g. P. Oxy. 1, 2, 208, 216, 449, 459, 656, 697, 873, 1076; B.M. Pap. 126). From this time on it is interesting to watch the contest between the roll and the codex, and to note the various forms assumed by the latter.

In one of the earliest of the papyrus codices (B.M. Pap. 126) the original writing (a copy of *Il. ii*) is written only on one side of the papyrus, as if the scribe had not yet realized the possibilities of the new *format*, and still preferred to write only on the *recto*; but in general the writing proceeds, as one would

expect, from *recto* to *verso* or from *verso* to *recto* without distinction. The size of a papyrus sheet did not allow it to be folded more than once; consequently there is no question of quires in quarto or octavo, such as we find in vellum or paper. The only question was how many sheets of papyrus should be simultaneously folded to form one gathering. The method of producing a papyrus codex was to lay a number of sheets flat, one above the other, and then to fold them in the middle, with a vertical fold. There was nothing to fix the number of sheets thus folded at once, so that it is possible to have gatherings of 2, 4, 6, 8 leaves or any higher multiple of two. The gathering once formed was held together by a string passed through two or three holes pierced along the line of the fold, the papyrus being sometimes protected from the string by a thin strip of vellum.

There are not enough recorded instances of complete gatherings, or in which the make-up of the gathering can be deduced, to justify general assertions as to the habitual form of early papyrus codices. It is, however, clear that the number of sheets was in some cases surprisingly large. In P. Oxy. 208 the first of two conjoint leaves contains John i. 23-31, while the other contains xx. 11-25. It is thus clear that it was almost the outermost pair of leaves in a very large quire which contained the entire Gospel. One of the interior leaves was subsequently identified in P. Oxy. 1781. It may be calculated that the quire would have consisted of twenty-five sheets, or fifty leaves, the first leaf being left blank. Such codices are not likely to have been common; for though they saved the trouble of binding several sheets together, they must have been inconvenient to fold. The extant evidence, however, does not allow us to lay down any general rule as to the *format* of papyrus codices, since nearly all that have come down to us are represented only by a leaf or two or less. In the great Cairo codex of Menander the quires seem to have had eight

leaves; in the Heidelberg codex of the Minor Prophets they vary between eight and ten; and it may be guessed that these represent the more normal practice.

In preparing the quires, it seems to have been usual to lay all the sheets with their *recto* sides uppermost. Consequently, when the sheets were folded to form the quire, the *verso* sides would precede the *recto* in the first half of the quire, while the *recto* would precede the *verso* in the second half. This is the case, for example, in the Minor Prophets codex just mentioned; but in the Menander codex we find a different method. Here the sheets have evidently been laid so that *recto* and *verso* were uppermost alternately, with the result that throughout the quire a *recto* page faces *recto*, and *verso* *verso*. The object aimed at was of course uniformity of appearance; just as in vellum codices it is arranged that hair-side should always face hair-side, and flesh-side flesh-side.

The writing in a papyrus codex was probably always, and certainly normally, with only one column to the page. The page of a papyrus codex could hardly be a large one (in the Minor Prophets codex they are $6\frac{1}{2}$ in. wide, in the Menander codex $5\frac{1}{2}$ in., and these are larger than the average), so that there was not room for the double, treble, or quadruple columns of the great vellum codices.

On the purely bibliographical aspect of the papyrus codex I do not think there is much more to be said. Its status in the world of book-production, however, deserves some consideration. It is clear (so far at any rate as the extant evidence goes) that it never occupied a foremost place. Up to the beginning of the fourth century the best books (best, that is, in quality of workmanship) were papyrus rolls; from the fourth century onwards they were vellum codices. The papyrus codex makes its appearance in the third century¹ as an inferior kind of book

¹ One very tiny codex of the Psalms, of which a leaf has recently been acquired by the British Museum, may be of the second century.

to the papyrus roll; it continues from the fourth to the seventh century as an inferior kind to the vellum codex. In only one case that I can recall does the writing give the impression of being the work of a first-class scribe; and often the papyrus itself is of poor quality. The exception is a fine MS. of St. Cyril of Alexandria, now divided between Paris and Dublin, probably of the seventh century, written on large pages measuring $12 \times 8\frac{1}{2}$ in., in a hand of Coptic type resembling that of the great Codex Marchalianus (see *New Palaeographical Society*, i. 203).

As a rule, however, the papyrus codex must be taken as representing an inferior and presumably cheaper form of book-production. In this connexion it is interesting to note the prominent place which it holds in the Christian literature of Egypt. It is the fact, both that most papyrus codices contain Christian literature, and that most Christian writings are in codex form. I have not complete statistics on the subject, but the following are approximately complete statistics relating to the MSS. discovered at Oxyrhynchus, which are a very large and representative proportion of the whole papyrus literature. In the third century, out of 106 MSS. containing pagan literature, 100 are rolls and only six are codices: while out of seventeen containing Christian literature only seven are rolls, while eight are papyrus codices and two are vellum codices. In the fourth century the proportion of pagan literature to Christian drops abruptly. Of fourteen pagan MSS., six are rolls, three are papyrus codices, five are vellum codices. Of thirty-six Christian MSS., only two are not codices, one being a mere schoolboy's exercise, and the other being inscribed on the *verso* of a roll containing an epitome of Livy; while 21 are papyrus codices and 13 are vellum codices. From the fifth century we have 25 pagan MSS., of which 4 are rolls, 17 papyrus codices, and 4 vellum codices; while of 21 Christian MSS., four are rolls, seven papyrus codices, and ten vellum

codices. From the sixth century the total number of literary MSS. is small. Of six pagan MSS., two are rolls, three papyrus codices, and one a vellum codex; while of eight Christian MSS., two are rolls, five papyrus codices, and one a vellum codex.

It is thus clear that in the third and fourth centuries pagan MSS. were, in an overwhelming majority of cases, rolls, while Christian MSS. were quite predominantly codices. In the fifth and sixth centuries the roll was going out of use altogether, papyrus having been superseded by vellum as the predominant partner. The codex is, therefore, pre-eminently a Christian form of book. In the earlier period we may attribute this to the fact that the Christians were for the most part a poor, and sometimes a persecuted, community. They could not afford the best kinds of book-production; and no doubt their best books, being the copies used in their churches, were most liable to destruction in times of persecution. The copies of which fragments have survived were mostly copies written or procured by private individuals for their own use; and these, as we have seen, were from the third century onwards mainly in codex form.

I cannot claim to have presented a complete, or a completely documented, survey of my subject. Circumstances have made it difficult for me to keep full notes of the material which continues to come to light from year to year. Such conclusions, however, as I have stated, do rest upon inductions from observed facts; and I hope that they may both be useful to other students for purposes of reference, and also may invite confirmation or correction in the light of fuller evidence. The papyrus book has played a great part in the history of human civilization, and our generation has had the privilege of establishing at any rate the main features of its bibliographical characteristics.



THE BIRCHLEY HALL SECRET PRESS

By ARTHUR J. HAWKES¹



THE existence of a secret Roman Catholic Press at Birchley Hall, near Wigan, Lancashire, in the first half of the seventeenth century seems to have been first brought to the notice of bibliographers by the late Mr. Joseph Gillow in 1885, when the first volume of his valuable *Bibliographical Dictionary*² appeared. It had already been suggested, notably by Henry Foley, S.J.,³ but it was in this volume of Gillow's that the first considerable account of the press appeared. Gillow brought together the documentary evidences for the existence of the press and, by investigating anew the lives of the Andertons who owned Birchley at this time, pieced together a circumstantial story of an extensive printing undertaking. The actual facts, however, are so meagre that Gillow's writing failed to carry conviction against the tradition that the Roman Catholic tracts and treatises of this period were printed at various centres on the Continent, especially as, in several cases, books alleged to have been printed at Birchley bear the names of such continental towns on their title-pages as their place of printing.

This aspect of the case, curiously enough, becomes more emphasized as the theory outlined by Gillow is more fully developed on its bibliographical side. In 1924, on the suggestion of Lord Crawford, I commenced collecting materials for a bibliography of the books printed in Lancashire before 1800. An examination of the books definitely attributed to Birchley

¹ Read before the Bibliographical Society, 15 February 1926.

² *A literary and biographical history, or Bibliographical Dictionary of the English Catholics*, 5 vols. 8vo (1885-1902).

³ Hy. Foley, *Records of the English Prov. of the Soc. of Jesus*, vol. v, pp. 370-1.

Hall by Gillow led to a collection of about fifty books apparently from the same press. On further investigation it turned out that many of these books, for very good bibliographical reasons, have been already definitely assigned to the English Jesuit press at St. Omer.

As a consequence several Roman Catholic bibliographers taking a particular interest in this period are inclined to scout the whole notion of secret printing in England, and more particularly of a Lancashire press.

Clearly there is a conflict of evidence; nevertheless, I hope to show that the weight of evidence is in favour of a Birchley Hall¹ origin for the books in question.

That secret printing, in the Roman Catholic interest, was carried on in England in late Elizabethan and Jacobean times admits of no doubt. We have it on his own authority that the noted Jesuit Robert Parsons himself maintained such a press in 1580-2. In his memoirs² he enumerates five small tracts which were printed by him on two separate presses. The first two were printed in Greenstreet House, East Ham, near London, but for greater safety more secluded premises were sought farther afield. Eventually 'after searching very diligently' Parsons 'with great difficulty' found an unoccupied house at Stonor Park on the borders of Oxfordshire, near Henley. It was situated 20 miles from London and in the middle of a wood. Here three more books were successfully printed, including Edmund Campion's *Rationes Decem*. This was a book of 44 leaves, and seems to have occupied seven or eight weeks in printing. Seven printers were employed at the house, five being subsequently arrested, viz. Stephen Brinkley (the master printer), John Harris, John Hervey, John Tinker,

¹ Though 'Birchley Hall' is exclusively used to designate the press, it is not denied that this *may* first have been set up at Lostock Hall. The point is fully discussed later.

² *Catholic Record Society*, vol. iv, pp. 14-17.

and John Compton.¹ The two significant points to bear in mind are that several of the publications, by imprint on the title-page, pretend to have been printed by John Lyon at Douai; and that it was possible, at a time when sympathizers were few and recusant hunting a pastime, to maintain a secret press so near London.

As is well known, under the inspiration of Campion and largely through the missionary labours of Parsons the last two decades of the sixteenth century were marked by a great increase in the number of recusants in the country, so that in the opening decade of the seventeenth century Jesuit and other Roman Catholic missionaries were very active. West Lancashire was an especially favourable area, the neighbourhood around Wigan particularly so, as most of the county families in the district adhered to the Roman faith. From this it will be seen that a secluded manor-house five or six miles from Wigan was an eminently desirable centre for Jesuit propaganda and the establishment of a secret printing press.

The first mention of a press being worked in Lancashire is to be found in a long tract against the Jesuits by an Anglican clergyman named John Gee, entitled *The Foot out of the snare*, published in 1624.² Gee says, 'There was a printing-house suppress about some three yeeres since in Lancashire, where 'all Brerely his works, with many other Popish pamphlets, 'were printed.'³ The 'Brerely' referred to is 'John Brereley', whose books at the time were creating a considerable stir. The name was a pseudonym for a member of the Anderton family of Birchley Hall, whose precise identity is part of the present discussion. The tract sets out to expose the secret activities of the Priests and Jesuits in England during the previous decade or so, the author claiming an intimate and personal knowledge

¹ Campion, *Ten reasons*, ed. by J. H. Pollen, Manresa Press, 1914, p. 17.

² Reprinted in the *Somers Tracts*, 2nd ed., vol. iii.

³ *Somers Tracts*, *ibid.*, p. 50.

of their doings and movements. One can hardly doubt his credentials in this respect for some of the stories are told at first hand, and he appends a catalogue of nearly 200 books lately circulated in the country (practically all of which are verifiable) and a list of 190 'Names of Romish Priests and Jesuits now resident about the City of London, March 26, 1624', in many cases giving their addresses. Gee's special knowledge of Lancashire is evident in the tract, and this is to be expected since not only was he benefited from 1620 to 1623 at Newton near Winwick, but he was a man of Lancashire connexions, being the grandson of Ralph Gee of Manchester. Newton is about ten miles from Birchley Hall, a seat of the Andertons, where it is supposed (for reasons which will appear later) that the press referred to was established. That Gee was well acquainted with the Anderton family is clear from his text, for in connexion with a certain story said to be propagated in London, Gee observes: 'It is a marvel his friends in Lancashire speake not of it, with many of whom I conversed.'¹ Gee's inside knowledge of the reconversion efforts of the Roman Church may also be satisfactorily explained in that, for a while, he was himself a convert, and may be reckoned with many others in similar case at the time who 'failed not to give their defection consequence by betraying the secrets of those they abandoned'.

Some effort has been made to discredit Gee's evidence. An editorial article in the *Douai Magazine*² says, 'He makes various false assertions,' and gives an instance, quoting in support a contemporary tract by John Floyd, S.J.: 'I forbear posely to make any answer to any of those grosse imputations which M. Gee hath set out in print against M. Fisher, and other Catholique Priests; for being as they are grossely false, no wise man will believe them.' Gee charged Fisher

¹ *Somers Tracts*, 2nd ed., vol. iii, p. 68.

² *Douai Mag.*, vol. iii, no. 4 (July 1925), p. 272.

with being 'a great merchant for the commodity of these Popish pamphlets', and claimed to have seen at his chambers 'three large rooms' of them filled 'to the very top'. Floyd is not necessarily denying this accusation, for I imagine the 'grosse imputation' which enraged him was the additional innuendo: 'I have heard some of his brethren say he hath thriven well thereby.' That Gee's opponents took him pretty seriously is borne out by Anthony à Wood who says that the *Foot out of the snare* was printed four times in 1624 'because 'all copies, or most of them, were bought up by the Roman 'Catholics, before they were dispersed, for fear their lodgings 'and consequently themselves should be found out'.¹ Gee's list of addresses was evidently so correct as to be formidable, and there is no reason to question his accuracy about the existence of secret presses.

Gee's reference to the printing house in Lancashire where all Brereley's books were printed occurs as an afterthought to his entry of Brereley's *Reformed Protestant* in the 'Catalogue' appended to his tract. Curiously enough, although copies of most of the Brereley books have now been found, no copy of this one has yet come to light. The name given as that of the author, 'John Brereley, priest', was long thought to be the pseudonym of James Anderton, of Lostock, near Bolton. This family tradition, quoted and accepted by Dodd,² may be traced back to almost contemporary times. Foley prints a letter from John Clark, S.J., Rector of the College at Liège, to the Father-General, dated 2 March 1656, announcing the death of Henry Holland, S.J. This includes a eulogium by

¹ Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses*, new ed., 1813-20, vol. ii, p. 391.

² Dodd's *Church History*, ii (1739), p. 386 b. The identification of Brereley with James Anderton being generally accepted on Dodd's authority, he is wrongly identified in the Brit. Mus. Catalogue, printed 1892-3, and other similar works; whilst the confusion makes a curious muddle of the articles on James and Lawrence Anderton in the *D. N. B.*

one of the College, in which it is stated that Holland 'was selected out of a large number of the gravest Fathers to hear the first confession of that most celebrated man, justly ranked one of the most learned of his age, James Anderton, Esq., of Lostock (the author of the learned book entitled *The Apologie of Protestants*)'.¹ This statement does not seem quite trustworthy as Clark, in transmitting the eulogium, says the author is not very correct as to dates. He may well be as incorrect as to his facts. The date of this 'first confession' could not be before June 1605, when Holland first came on the English mission; whereas the author of the *Apologie* must have been in the Roman Communion before the book was published in April 1604; moreover, we have it on the authority of a Privy Council memorandum dated 30 November 1592, that 'Mrs. Anderton of Lostocke ys latelie a widdowe of greate welth; she heard my Masse and Sermon at Lostocke and sent me money to her sonne James . . . James Anderton of Lostocke, her sonne, did at the same tyme heare my Masse there and Releived me; . . .'.² James also figures as a recusant in the *Hatfield Papers* under date of October 1592,³ but he was not convicted, apparently.

Dom Stephen Marron, O.S.B., in the *Douai Magazine* for July 1925, quotes from the editor of *Protestancy condemned*, a popular recension of the *Protestant's Apologie* published in 1654, who states therein that 'John Brereley, priest' 'was neither Brereley, nor Priest, nor Clergyman, not John, but rather James'.⁴ The ascription is undoubtedly an error, since James Anderton died in 1613, whilst certainly four books

¹ Hy. Foley, *Records of the English Prov. of the Soc. of Jesus*, vol. v, pp. 170-1.

² *Dom. Eliz.*, vol. 243, no. 70, P.R.O., folio 223 (cited by Gillow, *ibid.*, vol. i, p. 33). See also *Cal. of State Papers: Dom. Ser., Eliz.*, vol. 3 (1591-4) p. 288.

³ *Cal. of Hatfield MSS.*, vol. iv, p. 242 (Hist. MSS. Comm., 1892).

⁴ *Douai Mag.*, vol. iii, p. 272.

bearing the pseudonym of 'John Breereley, priest' appeared between 1620 and 1633, and one or two others under cover of initials only. This difficulty is got over in the *D. N. B.* by describing James as 'fl. 1624'. Other good reasons for rejecting the traditional view are fully set forth by the late Mr. Joseph Gillow who, in his *Bibliographical Dictionary*¹ published in 1885, was the first to suggest that the pseudonym concealed the identity of James's kinsman Lawrence, who was generally known as Father Scroope. In support he put forward the facts: that at the University Lawrence had gained a great reputation for his oratory, brilliant intellect, and learning; that the date of the first publication of the *Protestant's Apologie*, 1604, corresponds to a period of retirement, and comes soon after his leaving the Anglican communion and becoming a Roman Catholic priest; that the active life of 'John Breereley' corresponds to the life of Lawrence. Writing again in 1913 Gillow states: 'Since that date, 1885, the writer has 'obtained Breereley's MS. common-place book in folio, and 'another of his MSS. in 4to, which conclusively prove the 'correctness of the conjecture.'² Unfortunately, the whereabouts of these manuscripts, since the death of Gillow in 1921, cannot be discovered, but as Gillow frequently quotes from the common-place book in his other writings its genuineness cannot be doubted.³

Thus the case for Lawrence is obviously a strong one, and, assuming the correctness of Gillow's MS. proof, need not be further debated. Some biographical details concerning Lawrence, therefore, will not be out of place. Gillow has rightly identified him with the Lawrence Anderton, youngest son of Thomas Anderton, of Chorley, who was baptized at Chorley

¹ Vol. i, p. 31 et seq.

² *Catholic Record Society*, vol. xvi, p. 422; see also *Notes and Queries*, 11th ser., xi (1915), p. 118, and *The Tablet*, 12 February 1910.

³ e.g. *Bibl. Dict.*, vol. v, 264; *Cath. Rec. Soc.*, xxiii, p. 2; &c.

on 12 August 1575. This Thomas Anderton was a younger brother of Christopher Anderton of Lostock, near Bolton, who died in 1592; he was a Protestant as was also another brother, Bernard.¹ Lawrence is thus, not a nephew (as Gillow persists in stating), but a cousin of James Anderton who succeeded to Lostock in 1592, and to James's brothers who successively occupied Birchley Hall, near Wigan; Thurstan, Christopher, and Roger. I am informed by Mr. Ince Anderton that the suggestion made in some quarters that he was their youngest brother is definitely erroneous. Lawrence was educated at Blackburn Grammar School under the learned Greek scholar Lawrence Yates, whose wife was a recusant, and matriculated in 1593 as a pensioner at Christ's College, Cambridge, where he took his B.A. in 1596-7. At Cambridge he displayed much brilliance, whilst his eloquence gained him the epithet of 'golden-mouth'd Anderton'. He is said to have originally taken orders in the Anglican Church. Lawrence, however, was much addicted to reading the current controversial literature which unsettled his views, and so, in the words of Anthony à Wood, with 'his mind hanging after the Roman Catholic Religion, he left that College [at Cambridge] and 'his country, and shipping himself beyond the seas, entered 'into Roman Catholic orders, and became one of the learnedest 'among the papists'.² It might be observed here that if

¹ This Christopher Anderton (c. 1533-92) of Lincoln's Inn was the son of Lawrence Anderton of Chorley (living 1556), and making a considerable fortune founded the Lostock branch of the Anderton family. His father Lawrence was probably son or grandson of Thurstan Anderton (the elder) of Chorley (died 1504), fifth son of Oliver Anderton of Anderton (died 1466). Lawrence Anderton had four sons (1) Christopher of Lostock, nr. Bolton, who was a Protestant and died 1592; (2) Bernard of Heaton under Horwich, also a Protestant and died in 1605; (3) Thomas of Chorley (father of Lawrence, S.J.), a Protestant; and (4) Hugh, of Kirkby Ravensworth in the West Riding. (Information from H. I. A.).

² Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses*, new ed., 1813-20, vol. ii, p. 391.

Lawrence was not 'John Brekeley' there would be very little evidence to support such a high encomium. His departure for the Continent would take place about 1599. He probably returned soon afterwards for he published a volume of poems in London in 1601 and wrote another poem on events which took place in Lancaster in 1600-1, the manuscript of which is in the British Museum. He was certainly in England in April 1604, when was published the first edition of the *Protestant's Apologie*, a small 4to volume of 210 pages, concerning which more later. Confirmation of his return from abroad is afforded by the fact that he was already a priest when he became a Jesuit,¹ and it is known that he left England in 1604, going to Rome, where he joined the Society of Jesus. Following this event, according to Foley's account, Lawrence spent several years teaching in continental colleges before returning to England; but it is more probable that he returned to this country within a couple of years,² where he soon became a prominent figure in Lancashire Roman Catholic circles. He was professed of the four vows in 1619, and was Superior of the Lancashire District of the Society of Jesus in 1621; he went to Lytham Hall in 1625 as Chaplain to his kinsman Sir Cuthbert Clifton, in which capacity he joined in a pilgrimage to Holywell in November 1629, writing a long poem on the life of St. Winifred, the MS. of which, dated 1641, was in the possession of Mr. Gillow in 1914.³ In 1628 he was the leader of the

¹ Foley (*Records*, vol. vii, p. lxix) prints a list of Jesuits in England in 1610; Laur. Anderson [*sic*] appears as aged 34, a member of the S.J. six years, and working as a priest in England eight years.

² I am informed on Jesuit authority that an early return was most likely; and the Jesuit historian Southwell (*Bibl. Script. Soc. Jesus*, 1676 ed.), who says Lawrence died in 1643, mentions that he was about forty years on the English mission. He records (p. 538) that he joined the Society in 1604 at the age of 28. He would have been 29 in August 1604.

³ *Catholic Record Society*, vol. xvi, p. 422; see also *Notes and Queries*, 11th ser., xi (1915), p. 118, and *The Tablet*, 12 February 1910.

Jesuit opposition to the Bishop of Chalcedon.¹ He wrote a good deal of sacred poetry, of considerable merit according to Gillow, including *Virginalia, or Spiritual sonnets*, printed in 1632 under Breereley's initials 'I.B.', and wrongly attributed to his cousin Edward Bradshaigh. He was also the author of the celebrated hymn 'Jerusalem, my happy home', the original of which, signed 'J.B.P.',² occurs in the British Museum MS. of *The Songe of foure priestes that suffered death at Lancaster* [1600-1] (Add. MS. 15225). This MS. Gillow claims to have identified as being entirely in the handwriting of 'John Breereley',³ which clears up the mystery of the authorship of *The Song of Mary*, anonymously published in London in July 1601, where the first printed version of the hymn appears.⁴ Later he again went to London where he stayed till 1642; returning thence to Lancashire where he died on 17 April 1643, aged 67.

Where, then, was this supposed Lancashire secret press? As has already been noticed the family of Andertons to which Lawrence belonged had two important seats in Lancashire; the principal one, Lostock Hall, about four miles from Bolton, was purchased by Christopher Anderton in 1562.⁵ The other, Birchley Hall, about six miles by road from and within the old ecclesiastical parish of Wigan, was acquired from the Heatonsons about 1581.⁶ As to which of these two houses may

¹ *Catholic Record Society*, vol. xxii, pp. 161-4.

² Julian, *Dictionary of Hymnology*, 1892, p. 580—Julian, like most others, reads the initials as F. B. P., but the Rev. Rob. M. Moorsom in his *Historical Companion to Hymns Ancient & Modern*, reads J. B. P.

³ Gillow, *Bibl. Dict.*, vol. v, p. 204; see also p. 397. For full particulars of the MS., see Rollins, *Old Eng. Ballads* (Camb. 1920).

⁴ Julian, *Dict. of Hym.*, p. 581.

⁵ See note 1, p. 144.

⁶ *V. C. H. Lancashire*, vol. iv, p. 85; but according to the Rev. F. O. Blundell (*Old Catholic Lancs.*, 1925, vol. i, p. 1) Birchley was purchased by Christopher Anderton from Roger Wetherelt in 1558. Mr. Ince Anderton, however, says this is an error, as the property was not in the possession of the family in 1580.

claim the distinction of sheltering the press there has been some discussion. Both were equally advantageous in being somewhat remote from the beaten track, though each was quite near to a considerable town. Lostock Hall was formerly an imposing structure, built mainly of wood and plaster, and surrounded by a moat. There was much low ground in the neighbourhood, a good deal of which was under water, and it was in the immediate vicinity of a boggy tract known as Red Moss, whence rise the rivers Croal and Douglas. It was pulled down in 1816. James Anderton, Christopher's eldest son, succeeded to this property in 1592, and whilst it is possible that he was privately in sympathy with the Roman Church there is no evidence, beyond the suspicion recorded against him in 1592, that he was a recusant till the end of his life. Mr. Henry Ince Anderton, who has collected the facts of his family history, writes me from Switzerland: 'James Anderton of Lostock, from 1592 to 1613, must have been a recusant quite late in life, if at all, as he held official posts until within a few years of his death; he was suspected in Elizabeth's reign but was certainly not a convicted recusant then, but a change may have come when he resigned his office of Protonotary at Lancaster in June 1608.'¹ If we accept Gee's authority, the press must have been in existence before 1608; it, therefore, seems unlikely that it was established at Lostock. One piece of documentary evidence, which has led to the belief that it was first at Lostock, may actually be used as evidence against that theory. On his death at Lostock in September 1613, James's recusancy was disclosed and a stock of popish books was seized for the Bishop of Chester. Preserved in the Record Office (Dom. James I, vol. 75, No. 20) is a letter from the Chancellor of the Exchequer (Sir Julius Caesar, knt.) to Sir Thomas Lake, one of the clerks of His Majesty's Signet attending the King at Court, dated London,

¹ In stating that he signed a proclamation as a J.P. in Wigan in 1613 Gillow is in error, confusing him with James Anderton of Clayton (1542-1630).

20 November 1613, endorsed 'Post haste, haste, haste'. The writer states that according to the King's pleasure he has had conference with the Bishop of Chester concerning the safe custody of the goods and books of one Anderton, a recusant in Lancashire, deceased.¹ He further records that the Bishop has sealed up and inventoried the books, but observes that his goods and money cannot be legally sequestered before conviction.² This is significant since it implies that before his death James had not been so convicted. Accompanying a second letter, dated 7 December (same vol. nos. 36, 36 I) is a list of popish books as follows: Manuals, Latine and English Primers, Firme Foundations, Abridgements, Policie and Religion, Rules of St. Clare, Pseudo-Scripturist, Introductions [to a Devout Life by Yorke], Followings of Christ, Key of Paradise, Bellarmine's Catechisms, Vaux's Catechisms, Images of both Churches.³ It will be noticed that most of these titles are in the plural, which suggests a number of copies of each book. But it has been remarked by opponents of a Lancashire Roman Catholic Press that the letter contains no mention of a printing press being seized, and the books may simply have been taken to Lostock for distribution. If the press was at Birchley Hall rather than Lostock both points are explained.

Birchley was a much more likely centre. It was even more secluded than Lostock Hall; even to-day it is quite out of the line of traffic. The original building still stands.³ It was erected by James Anderton and extended by his brother Thurstan. It is built of stone and is roomy, the newer portion being dated 'T.A. 1594'. One chamber, off the kitchen, was

¹ Cited by Gillow, *Bibl. Dict.*, vol. i, p. 39.

² *Calendar of State Papers: Dom. Ser.*, 1611-18, p. 210.

³ Blundell, *Old Cath. Lancs.*, vol. i, p. 2 (a photograph of Birchley appears in this volume). In his will Roger Anderton mentions 'the new buildings at Birchley built by my brother Christopher Anderton since I was married', i.e. 1615. This would apparently refer to the Chapel, giving 1616 as the most probable year of its erection.

formerly only accessible by a short flight of steps from outside, with a trap door in the ceiling. There is a secret passage running from the wall of the room adjoining the chapel on to the roof. In the vestry of the chapel is a trap door which was formerly concealed by a hollow wall, access being gained by a secret panel. This trap door gives access to the room below from which another secret door leads into the Hall. Gossip has it that there is a passage with an exit in the neighbouring wood. The chapel itself is an annexe built out from the front of the west wing, and comprises the upper of two floors, the lower being originally the priest's house. It was in existence in 1618.¹ Formerly accessible from the house it is now entered by a flight of steps long ago built up the outside wall, the new structure effectively closing the entrance to the ground floor. Birchley is reputed to be the oldest Catholic Mission in Lancashire. I have it on the authority of a local gentleman holding an official position, that about twelve years ago he accompanied an educational rambling party to Birchley, and on the floor of the present Church was a large heap of old books which, the party were informed, had a few days previously been discovered in the course of some repairs, in the space below the old chapel floor. My informant has a clear memory, for on the top of the pile was a large and ancient edition of Ptolemy's Geography which he examined with great interest. What the other books were he has no recollection beyond the suggestion that they were of great interest and value. Careful inquiries, however, have failed to elicit any information as to this find, though Dom F. O. Blundell, O.S.B., records² that 'some years ago a chalice of pewter and vestments were found in the priest's hiding place', the date of the chalice being probably early seventeenth century.

Birchley was occupied successively by the three younger brothers of James Anderton. *First* Thurstan, who died in

¹ See note 3 on previous page.

² Ibid., p. 11.

1598 or 1599; he apparently extended the building on the chapel side for his initials and date 'T.A. 1594' appear over one of the windows. Of him Mr. Anderton writes 'He was not 'a recusant, but his widow (*née* Norris of Speke) occurs as such 'in 1600, though her second husband, Sir Henry Bunbury of 'Stanney Hall, Cheshire, was not, and her eldest son, John 'Bunbury M.A., was chaplain to the Bishop of Londonderry in '1634.' *Secondly* Christopher, who married Anne Scarisbrick in 1600 and resided at Birchley till the death of his brother James in 1613, when he succeeded to Lostock. 'He was always a recusant, even in Elizabeth's days', says Mr. Ince Anderton. *Thirdly* Roger, who may have taken Christopher's place in 1613 and was certainly settled at Birchley at his marriage to Anne Stanford in 1615, holding it till his death 1 October 1640, when he was buried in Wigan. He, too, was always a recusant even in Elizabeth's time. So we have a continuous and definitely Roman Catholic history for Birchley Hall from 1601 onwards. Birchley, too, with its chapel, was the centre of the Roman Catholic Mission in Lancashire, and it would be here that Father Lawrence Anderton would resort. That he was active here about 1612 is clear from a personal statement made by Father Lawrence Rigby (otherwise Morley) on being entered as a student at the English College in Rome. The statement reads: '1621. My name is Henry Morley, and 'I am now about 20 years of age . . . and I was brought up by 'Christopher Anderton the brother of the Rev. Father Scroope '[i.e. Lawrence Anderton] of the Soc. of Jesus. . . . As long as I 'was studying at public schools among heretical masters and 'fellow-students, I could gain no knowledge of the Catholic 'religion; but after I had attained my thirteenth year the 'Rev. Father Scroope converted me, giving me the name which 'he himself had used when he first studied. . . .'¹ The Christopher here mentioned was Christopher Anderton of Horwich,

¹ Foley's *Records*, vol. iii, p. 776.

who was granted the reversion of the office Protonotary in the Court of Common Pleas at Lancaster in 1607,¹ and died in 1629.

The most important piece of evidence linking the press with Birchley is a document discovered in the Blundell papers at Crosby Hall by the Rev. T. E. Gibson in 1878.² It is in the handwriting of William Blundell of Crosby (1620-98), who declares that 'This copie is a list of the workes of my uncle Rog[er] An[derton] which was sent me by his son C[hristopher] Anderton, A.D. 1647'. Christopher entitles it: 'A Catalogue of those Bookes you desyred to have a copy of. The originall copy *owne* hand'. The emphasis of the word *owne* clearly indicates that Christopher copied the list from an original in his father's own writing. The list itself follows immediately, and those titles which recur in the Bibliography appended to this paper are indicated by the figures in parenthesis following the title (number 4, in an edition now lost, is the only title which occurs in the inventory of books seized at Lostock in 1613):

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. The Christian Manna [1613] (6) | 13. An Antidote against Purgatorie [Untraced]. |
| 2. White dyed black [1615] . . . (12) | 14. Maria Triumphans [1635] . . . (50) |
| 3. Keepe your Text [1619] . . . (23) | 15. Adelpomachia, or Ye Warrs of Protestancy [1637] . . . (52) |
| 4. The Pseudo-Scripturist [1623] (37) | 16. Bellarmin of Eternal Felicitie, translated [1638] . . . (53) |
| 5. One God, One Faith, or Qui Non Credit Condemnabitur [1625] . . . (39) | 17. Do. Lamentation of the Dove, translated [1641 ?] . . . (57) |
| 6. The Legacy [1624] (38) | 18. Do. Seven words of Our Lord, translated [1638] . . . (54) |
| 7. The Converted Jew [1630] . . . (42) | 19. Clavis Homerica [1636] . . . (61) |
| 8. Rawleigh his Ghost [1631] . . . (43) | 20. Miscellanea [1640] (55) |
| 9. Campion Translated [1632] . . . (45) | 21. Luthers Alcoran [1642] . . . (56) |
| 10. The Non-entitie of Protestancy [1633] (47) | 22. The English Nunne [1642] . . . (59) |
| 11. Puritanisme the Mother, Sinn the daughter [1633] . . . (48) | 23. The Catholicke Younger Brother [1642] (60) |
| 12. An Apologie of English Arminianisme [1634] . . . (49) | 24. A Panagryicke or Laudative Discourse [Untraced]. |

¹ *V. C. H. Lancs.*, vol. v, p. 8.

² Earwaker, *Local Gleanings rel. to Lancs. and Cheshire*, reprinted 4to, vol. ii, p. 287.

³ These bracketed dates are here added.

To this catalogue Mr. Blundell added, at a later period, the following note :

' Mr. Henry Heaton Tells me this present 20 June 1668, that ye said Mr Roger Anderton sent to him at St. Omers all Bellarmin's Controversies translated in English by him ye said Roger ; it was 2 large Tomes, but never printed.'¹

Even by those who oppose the theory of Birchley printing this list is considered a conundrum. The books on it are said to be the 'workes' of Roger Anderton by his son on the authority of a list drawn up by Roger himself, yet very few of the books can have been either written or translated by him. Many of them have the names of their authors upon the titles ; the authorship of others is definitely known. Consequently the only possible explanation is that he printed them. It is significant that every one as it is discovered is found to be without place of printing or name of printer, that they bear clear evidence of being produced at the same press, that nearly all bear one of two imprints : 'printed with licence' or 'permissu superiorum' ; that all, except one, are dated 1615 or later, the year in which Roger married and settled definitely at Birchley, the only exception so far discovered being one for 1613, in which year he may be deemed to have succeeded to the property ; and what seems to me perhaps the most important fact of all : with slight exception the list is strictly in chronological order. Taking all the facts I have adduced into consideration I see no alternative to the conclusion that these books were actually printed at Birchley Hall through the instrumentality of Roger Anderton, and I feel on safe ground in basing my survey of the typographical features of the press upon the peculiarities presented by these books, and bringing into its compass other books not mentioned in the list, which display the same typographical features and for which some external evidence of association can be found.

¹ Earwaker, *Local Gleanings rel. to Lancs. and Cheshire*, reprinted 4to, vol. ii, p. 287.



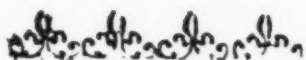
INITIAL TYPES (EXACT SIZE)

PLATE I

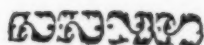




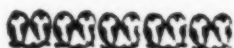
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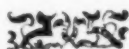
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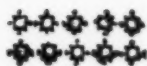
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(7A)



(8)



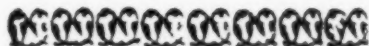
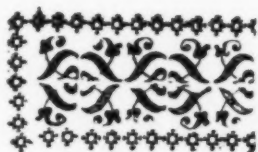
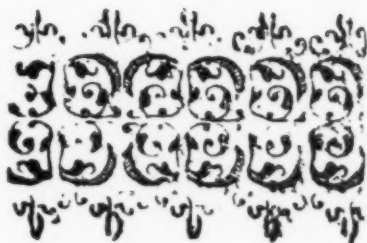
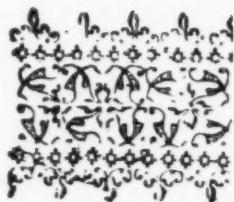
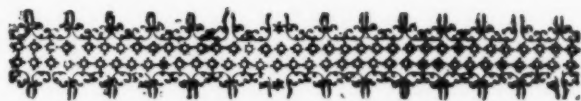
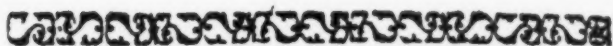
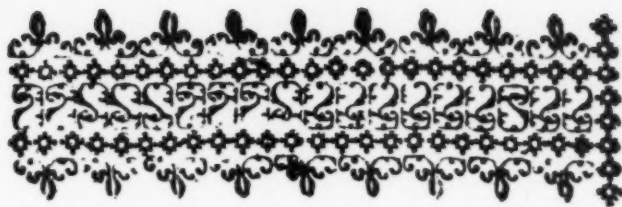
(10)



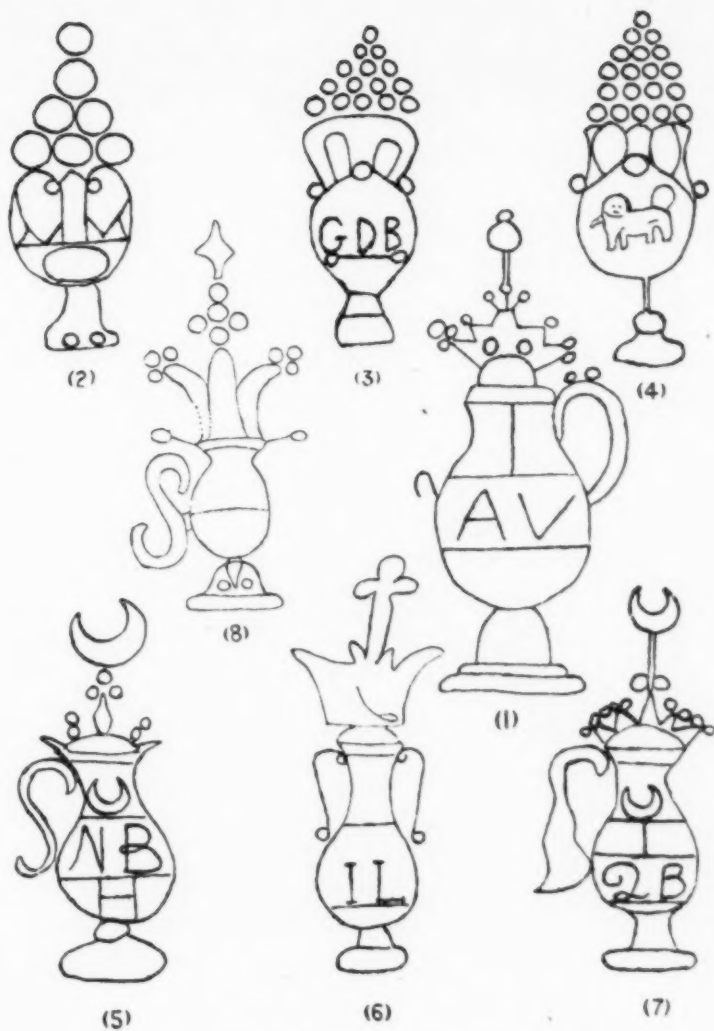
(11)

DETAILS OF ORNAMENTS (ABOUT $1\frac{1}{2}$ DIAMETERS)

PLATE II



TYPES OF ORNAMENT-SETS (ABOUT $1\frac{1}{2}$ DIAMETERS)



EXAMPLES OF WATERMARKS (EXACT SIZE)

PLATE IV

WHYTE
DYED BLACK.

OR
A Discouery of many most foule blemishes, im-
postures, and deceiptes, which D. Whyte
haith practysed in his book entituled
The way to the true Church.

Denyded into 3 sortes
Corruptions, or depra-
uations.
Lyes.
Impertinencies, or ab-
surd reasoninges.

Written by T. W. P.

And Dedicated to the Vniuersity of Cambridge.

Haruticum hominum, post unam & alteram correptionem, deuita: sciens, quia subuersus est, qui cuncti modi est & delinquit, cum sit proprio iudicio condemnatus. Tit. 3,

Cathedra tibi quid fecit Ecclesia Romana, in qua Petrus sedet, & in qua nunc Anastasius (sive Paulus quintus) sedet? Cur appellas Cathedram pestilentis, Cathedram Apostolicam? August. lib. 3. con. lit. Petil.

Cum privilegio.

1615.

Ex lib.

TYPE OF GROUP (B) BOOKS
(From the copy at Ushaw College, Durham)

PLATE V



SECRETLY PRINTED BY ROBERT PARSONS, S.J. 1581

(From the copy at Stonyhurst College, by courtesy
of the Manresa Press)

PLATE VI

THE APOLOGIE

OF THE ROMANE CHVRCH,
DEVIDED INTO THREE SEVE-
rall Tractes whereof

1. *The first*, Concerneth the Antiquitie and conti-
nuance of the Catholike Romane Re-
ligion ever since the Apostles time.
2. *The second* That the Protestantes Religion was
not so much as in being, at or before
Luthers first appearing.
3. *The third* That Catholickes are no lesse Loyall
and dutifull to their Sovereigne, then
Protestantes.

*All which are undertaken and proved by testimonies of
the learned Protestantes themselves.*

Egy. 19, 2.

And I will sette the Egyptians against the Egyptians, so
every one shall fight against his brother.

Rib:

Harri:



Glov:

Lac:

Printed with licence Anno Domini 1604.

? SECRETLY PRINTED BY LAWRENCE
ANDERTON, S.J., 1604

(From the copy at Oscott College, Birmingham)

PLATE VII

506:

One God , One Fayth.

O R

A DISCOURSE
A G A I N S T

Those Lukewarm-Christians, who extend
Saluation to all kinds of Fayth and Re-
ligion; so, that the Professours do believe
in the Trinity, the Incarnation, the Pas-
sion &c. howsoever they differ in other
inferiour Articles.

Written by W. B. Priest.



One Lord, one Fayth, one God. *Ephes. 4.*

Because thou art Lukewarme, & neyther
cold, nor hoat, I will vomit thee out of
my mouth. *Apos. 3.*

Permissu Superiorum. M. DC. XXV.

TYPE OF GROUP (A) BOOKS

(From the copy at Douai Abbey, Woolhampton)

PLATE VIII

MISCELLANIA

O R

A TREATISE

Contayning *Two Hundred* Controuerſiall
Animaduersionſ, conducing to the ſtu-
dy of Engliſh Controuerſies in Fayth,
and Religion.

Written by N. N. P.

And dedicated to the yonger ſort of Catholike
Priests, and other ſtudents in the Engliſh Se-
minaries beyond the Seas. With a Pareneti-
call Concluſion vnto the ſaid Men.



*Prædicæ Verbum: in ſua opportuna, importuna: argue,
obſcra, increpa, in omni patientia & doctrina
2. Tim. 4.*

Printed Anno M. DC. XL,

TYPE OF NOS. 55, 56, 58, ETC., IN THE BIBLIOGRAPHY
(From the copy in the library of Lord Fairfax of Cameron)

PLATE IX



VERSO OF TITLE-PAGE, ETC., OF *FOLLOWING OF CHRIST* (No. 10)

(From the copy at Stonyhurst College)

PLATE X

The most peculiar ornaments (other than the tail-piece no. 1) are nos. 4, 10, and 11 which it will be noticed are found in most of the Blundell-Anderton books, and are widely distributed amongst the others in the Bibliography; whilst the initials most commonly used in the Blundell-Anderton books belong to fount 6, fount 5 being widely distributed amongst the others. The most striking features, however, are the lop-sided tail-piece (no. 1) and an elaborate letter Y (no. 7). The books in the Blundell-Anderton list have been exhaustively searched for in the British Museum Catalogue and in half a dozen important Roman Catholic college libraries, and in many cases they are known in unique copies only. If more than one edition were printed in different places it is almost incredible that they should have disappeared so completely. Consequently it may, I think, be safely assumed that the copies discovered represent the actual editions referred to in the Blundell-Anderton list. The fact that the editions discovered give the list a perfect chronological sequence confirms the conclusion; the one exception, *The Bishop of London's Legacy*, may prove the rule, for it is possible that, in this case, the correct edition has not turned up. Gee says of this book that it was 'reprinted with a preface of a new disguise' so that we have evidence of two different editions, whilst those of 1623 and 1624 are identical. It is, therefore, important to notice that four of the books contain the curious lop-sided tail-piece indicated as ornament No. 1. Another one, *The Catholike Yonger Brother*, 1642, which does not possess the tail-piece, is noteworthy for a large and curious initial Y (init. 7) which also has been found in one other book *The Triple Cord*, a book definitely ascribed to Lawrence Anderton. This book has the tail-piece eighteen times repeated; it also has a crude and grotesque H (init. 1) repeated four times. From the typographical features of these five books it is possible to link with them a group of books exactly corresponding to the description of John Gee 'A

printing house where all Breereley's books were printed and many more'.

The books appear to divide themselves into two typographical groups: group A of which nos. 1, 5, & 10¹ are typical examples and exhibit the features already described (see plate VIII); and group B to which Nos. 2, 3, and 7¹ may be referred (see plate V), this group is noticeable for the absence of heavy-faced ornaments and initials, long lines of the small ornaments 2, 3, and 4 being used. This group fades out, apparently, about 1620.

It must be borne in mind that the only *direct* evidence for the existence of the Birchley Press is Gee's assertion, and if we accept the Lancashire printing-house as a fact we must necessarily accept the further fact that it was the place where all Breereley's books were printed—it was while writing the title of one of his works that Gee suddenly remembered this secret printing establishment. We cannot accept the song and then change the tune. But this, it seems to me, is what the Rev. Charles A. Newdigate, S.J., is doing. He believes that practically all the group A books in my Bibliography were printed at St. Omer, and that the lop-sided tail-piece is a distinctive feature of the books printed at the English College at St. Omer. Yet he accepts the *fact* of a Birchley Hall press, and has very kindly sent me a list of eleven books which he is prepared to allocate to Birchley. Of these only two are by Breereley, and only one other is on the Blundell-Anderton list. Curiously enough two of these books are so typographically alike that I had already photographed their title-pages side by side on the same plate. The point I want to make, however, is that on Fr. Newdigate's showing all Breereley's books were printed at St. Omer, whilst his own family press was printing just a few odds and ends. This seems to be quite an impossible conclusion.

¹ The numbers here refer to the Blundell-Anderton list, not to the Bibliography at the end of this paper.

On the other hand the group of books thus indicated is larger than one would expect, and we appear to be in danger of appropriating the bulk of the books allocated to St. Omer by Father C. A. Newdigate. It therefore seems not unlikely that the tail-piece, being apparently of metal, may have been duplicated at (or from) St. Omer, even to copying the tilt; the same observation applies to initial founts 4 and 5 which are also of metal. Mr. A. W. Pollard tells me that methods of exact reproduction of metal figures were known and used at this date. Precisely how to discriminate between the books that may thus have been printed at St. Omer and those that were printed at Birchley I have not yet been able to determine. But one reasonable distinction is rendered feasible by a close analysis. If we eliminate from the Birchley list all books exhibiting initial fount 5 not also exhibiting founts 1, 6, 7, and ornaments 4, 10, and 11, we shall approach much nearer to the Blundell-Anderton list and shall no longer be in danger of annexing St. Omer. But the basis of any such discrimination must be that Brekeley's own works as mentioned by Gee and the books on the Blundell-Anderton list are Birchley books.

Gee in his 'Catalogue' mentions two other books by 'Brekeley' and clearly implies that these were printed in Lancashire. He heads his list 'A Catalogue or Note of such English Bookes (to the knowledge of which I could come) as have been *printed, reprinted, or dispersed* by the Priests and their agents *in this Kingdome*, within these two years last past, 'or thereabouts'. The italics are mine. Gee quite definitely distinguishes between those printed or reprinted in England and those merely 'dispersed' after importation. The following are specifically named as having been printed or reprinted in this country:

The Doway Bibles, that is, the Old Testament only, in two volumes with notes, revised by Doctor Worthington, and reprinted heer in London. . . .

The New Testament, translated by the Rhemists, and reprinted in quarto. . . .

The same Testament in English lately printed in decimo sexto. . . .

The Anker of Christian Doctrine, in foure parts, written by D. Worthington; the last three parts printed in London. . . .

The Protestants Apologie, written by Brerely, reprinted and sold for seventeen shillings. . . .

The Bishop of Londons Legacie, written by Musket, a Jesuit, and reprinted with a preface of a new disguise. . . .

Jesus, Maria, Joseph, lately come out of the press, printed in London, by Simons, a Carmelite, now in London.

The Love of the Soule, printed in London.

Demands to hereticks, in two parts, by D. Bristow, reprinted.

Ledisme his Catechisme, lately printed heere in England.

Saint Augustines Religion, written by Brerely, and reprinted.

The Reformed Protestant, by Brerely. [Note here about the printing-house.]

The Three Conversions, reprinted; written by F. Parsons.

Parsons Resolutions, reprinted, anno 1623.

The Manuall of Prayers, reprinted.

Fox his Calendar, reprinted anno 1623.

Fitz-Herbert, of Policy and Religion, reprinted.

It is not to be supposed that all these books are claimed for the Birchley Press; on the contrary, it is manifest from the above entries that secret presses were at work in London and elsewhere. But it affords a strong support for the typographical group already indicated. Brerely's *Protestants Apologie* is said to be 'reprinted', in *England* being implied by the heading. The reference can only be to the second edition of 1608. This book has all the features deduced from the five books on the Blundell-Anderton list already considered: it has the tail-piece ten times and the grotesque H four times. The paper used affords some confirmation of its English origin, the

watermarks throughout presenting a variation of the common 'pot' design. Certainly six different paper-marks are to be found in the two copies I have examined, all corresponding in type. One is a two-handled urn bearing the initials G D B (pl. iv, fig. 3); another looks like a wineglass with an heraldic leopard rather crudely inserted (pl. iv, fig. 4), the others are just decorated vases and very similar in design. In another book in Gee's list (as above quoted) we obtain further striking confirmation. Parson's *Resolutions* (or *Christian Directory*) is there dated 1623: this must refer to the sixth edition of 1622, as the seventh edition is dated 1633. This book, with the tail-piece eight times repeated, is quite obviously from the same press as the 1608 *Apologie*, *The Christians Manna*, 1613, *One God one Fayth*, 1625, and the other books of the group dealt with. The paper of this book is poor and has no watermark.

Thus, approaching the bibliographical problem of the Birchley Press from two quite distinct bases we arrive at the same typographical index. Gee and the Blundell-Anderton list confirm each other and must stand or fall together. It must be remembered that the Andertons had ample wealth to maintain such a press. Roger Anderton's son [Roger] in his statement on entering the English College, Rome, observes 'My parents are Catholics, wealthy, and of high family'. The family also had an interest in printing. The Venerable Robert Anderton, who suffered death for his faith in 1586, was from 1583 to 1585 corrector of the press conducted by the English Seminarists at Rheims. He is described in the information as being 'Kyndered to younge Anderton of Grayes Inne a notable younge Papiste',¹ i.e. the Christopher Anderton of Lostock (1564-1619). Robert Anderton (1560-86), who was educated at Rivington Grammar School and Brasenose, Oxford, is said to be the eldest son of Thomas Anderton of Chorley and thus brother to 'John Brekeley'.¹

¹ *Catholic Record Society*, vol. 21, p. 73.

Roger Anderton's will dated 28 May 1640 and proved at Chester in the following November contains a most unusual clause. Mr. Ince Anderton has kindly sent me some extracts and there is a direction that all the books the testator had borrowed be carefully returned to their owners. To occasion such a proviso the borrowings must have been numerous, a fact entirely in keeping with the existence of the press.

Why are all the books I have ascribed to Birchley not in the Blundell-Anderton list? The explanation would seem to be that the books on the list are exclusively Roger's productions. He appears to have taken over the press immediately on Christopher's transfer to Lostock in 1613. In the following years others may have had a share in the control—perhaps Lawrence. Roger's other active periods seem to have been 1623-5 and 1630 till his death. The translation of Bellarmine's 'Controversies' and other works may have occupied him in the intervals.

It is probable that Lawrence Anderton himself started the press. In the period 1601-4 when nothing is known of his movements, his time would be largely taken up in writing his smaller version of the *Protestants Apologie*, which would entail considerable labour in verifying quotations—he must have read through a small library to have produced the book. There can be no doubt he was proud of the book, his prefaces to his other books make that evident. He considered he had produced a really solid contribution to his side of the controversy, one which would serve as a handbook of information to his own party. He would be anxious to get it printed, even for circulation amongst his own friends. Knowing of previous efforts of secret printing, and having ample funds, the inclination to print his own book would not be very extraordinary, especially as the dangers of importing them must have been known to him.

If we compare the 1604 *Apologie* with the Stonor Park first edition of Campion's *Rationes Decem* we cannot but be struck

by the similarity of their title-pages. The title-page of the *Apologie* has every appearance of being modelled on the earlier typographical effort of Parsons. Anderton was well acquainted with Campion's book, for a translation of it appears on the Blundell-Anderton list, and copies, presumed to have been printed at Birchley in 1632, are in the Ushaw College Library and at Stonyhurst. The book itself bears some evidence of amateur production and limited types, and it is quite within the compass of a small press and amateur typography. The handsome and curious initial on sig. A4 may well have been the work of a brilliant amateur. The text fount appears to be English and the head ornament on sig. A consists of six lines of ornament 4 interspersed with the large asterisks found in the 1608 edition and other works. Perhaps the most definite fact practically proving its production in England is that every sheet of paper used in the book shows a somewhat crude but clearly defined typical English 'pot' watermark. That on the earlier sheets bears the initials A.V., a sketch of which is exhibited (pl. iv, fig. 1); whilst that in the later sheets closely corresponds.

The chief argument advanced against the theory is the statement in the preface to the Parliament that following the King's refusal to accept any more petitions the Author 'seriously laboured by all carefull meanes and direction for the utter suppressing thereof', and that the writer of the preface having secured a copy of the MS. 'casualle and without his knowledge' decided upon 'publishing the same without the Authors assent'. The statement is a little elaborate, for there are not likely to have been so many MS. copies that their recovery occasioned serious and careful labour; it is also entirely negatived by the Advertisement on the back of the title-page. This Advertisement apologizes for the state of the printing and is signed by the Author himself. Significantly enough it is dated 1 April.

THE BIBLIOGRAPHY

In the compilation of this bibliography of the Birchley Hall Press I most gratefully acknowledge the generous assistance I have received from the Rev. Charles A. Newdigate, S.J., who lent me for examination a number of rare books and supplied full collations in other cases. Equally cordial thanks are due to Mr. Henry Ince Anderton who, by dint of systematic examination of bibliographical works at the British Museum, brought to light four hitherto unidentified books on the Blundell-Anderton list. I am also indebted to Mr. Anderton for many biographical details in the paper itself. Others also have kindly lent or verified books and I particularly thank Dom Stephen Marron, O.S.B., in this connexion.

Most of the books in the bibliography are definitely claimed as products of the Birchley Hall Press, but one or two are included merely for reference or because they have associations with the press and are referred to in the paper, notably numbers two and eleven. Rare and newly described books are given in some fullness, but those which are fully set out in accessible bibliographies are entered in briefer form.

I [ANDERTON, LAWRENCE, S.J., 1575-1643.] THE APOLOGIE OF THE ROMAN CHURCH devided into three severall Tractes. . . . All which are vndertaken and proved by testimonies of the learned Protestantes themselves. . . . Printend [*sic*] with licence Anno Domini 1604.

Sm. 4to, 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ × 5 $\frac{1}{2}$, pp. [xviii] (*t.p.*, *Tables* (5 ff.) and *Ded.*, 3 ff.), 1-191 (*Text of Tracts*), 192 (*blank*). Last page of text should be 193, 2 pp. being numbered 58, and leaf K₄, being blank on verso, is omitted from the paging. [B.M.; BODL.; U.L.C.]

The Author's Advertisement (on back of *t.p.*) is signed 'I. Br.', i.e. John Brereley, the pseudonym of Lawrence Anderton (*see* article). Printed on English paper watermarked with typical 'pot' device (*see* Fig. 1). The headline ornament on p. A consists of six lines of ornament 4, interspaced

with the large asterisk prominent in all the Birchley books. Quoted as *The Protestants Apologie*; see particularly pp. 152-3, and pl. VII.

2 VAUX, LAWRENCE [*of Blackrod*, 1518-85]. A CATECHISME or Christian doctrine, necessary for children and ignorant people, briefly compiled by Lawrence Vaux, Bachelor of Divinitie. WITH AN OTHER ADDITION of instruction of the laudable ceremonies vsed in the Catholike Church. WHEREVNTO IS ADIOYned a briefe forme of Confession (necessary for all good Christians) according to the vse of the Catholike Church. [*Quot. from Athanasius* (3 ll.); ornament.] Printed at Roan. 1605.

12mo, 5 x 2½, A1, t.p.; A2, 'The Printer to the Reader'; A3-4, 'The Author to the Reader'; A5 (=Fol. 1)-M12 (=Fol. 276) The text of the work. Total pp. 288.

The ornament on t.p. is a plain rectangle (1½ x 1½) enclosing a Pascal Lamb in the centre with a lectern on the left and a pillar on the right. The Catechism ends on p. 143, on which p. also begins the section on the Ceremonies; this ends on p. 177; on p. [178] is a woodcut of Christ on the Cross with an exhortation in verse; and on the next four (unnumbered) pp. is a note on the symbolism of the Cross. Following this (H12) is a new t.p. (evidently in facsimile of an original, since the paging and signatures continue) as follows: 'A BRIEFE FORME of CONFESSION, INSTRUCTING ALL christian folke howe to confesse their sins, and so to dispose themselves, that they may inioy the benefit of true Penance, dooing the worthy fruite thereof, accordinge to the vse of Christs Catholick Church. NEWLIE VEWED, AND SET FOORTH, according to the translator his late Printed coppie. 1599.' This t.p. and three following pp. unnumbered. The paging is resumed on the verso of I 12 (=184). Text of this section ends on p. 276, with tail ornament.

This hitherto unknown edition of Vaux negatives Mr. T. G. Law's suggestion (Chetham Society's reprint of the Catechism, N.S. vol. iv) that a reputed 1599 edition might be the one referred to in the Bishop of Chester's inventory; this, doubtless, is the edition there listed. [OSCOFF COLL.]

3 [ANDERTON, LAWRENCE, S.J., 1575-1643.] THE PROTESTANTS APOLOGIE for the Roman Church. Deuided into three seuerall Tractes. . . . By John Brekeley Priest . . . Permissu Superiorum. Anno M.DC.VIII.

Sm. 4to, $7\frac{1}{8} \times 5\frac{3}{8}$, pp. [xxvi] (*t.p.* & *Advert.*, 4 ff., *Table* 3 ff., *Catalogue of Fathers* 1 f., *Table of Protestant writers*, 5 ff.), 1-56 (*Preface*), [iv] (*Epis. to the King*), 57-751* (*Text of Tracts*), [lxxii] (*Alph. Table, Bibliog., Errata, Omissions, &c.*). [B.M.]

* i.e. 756, pp. 515-20 being numbered on verso only.

A much enlarged ed. of No. 1. Though usually attributed to St. Omer, this must be assigned to Birchley on the authority of Gee (see p. 156) and on the general argument for the press. Admittedly a big book for a secret press and a fair specimen of typography, nevertheless it abounds in misprints. Its typographical features link it with the books on the Blundell-Anderton list, and the paper used seems to be English, the watermarks representing urns and similar variations on the 'pot' device (see pl. IV, figs. 2, 3, and 4). There were two issues, the first having a short preface on the back of the t.p. only (copy in Wigan P. Libr.), the second has an extended preface, and the re-set t.p. has slight verbal differences. The collation above is for the 2nd issue; for collation of 1st issue, see *Bibliotheca Lindesiana*, vol. i, col. 1057.

4 [WILSON], J[OHN,] *Catholic Priest*. THE ENGLISH MARTYROLOGE Conteyning A summary of the Lives of the glorious and renowned Saintes of the three Kingdomes, . . . By a Catholicke Priest. . . . Permissu Superiorum. Anno 1608.

Sm. 8vo, $6\frac{1}{2} \times 4\frac{1}{2}$, pp. [ii, *t.p.*], [ii, *Ded. Epis.*], [ix, *Calender*], [iii, *Advertisement signed I. W.*], [356, *references*], [xiv, *Catalogue of English Roman Catholic Martyrs*]. [U.L.C.; OSCOTT.]

Though exhibiting the lop-sided tail-piece, this may be one of the books printed at St. Omer with duplicate ornament and initial founts (see p. 155), since the author was in charge of the printing press at St. Omer which seems to have begun in 1608; but the evidence is not exactly conclusive.

5 [ANDERTON, LAWRENCE, S.J., 1575-1643. *Luthers Life*. Collected from the writings of him selfe and other learned Protestants. Together with a further shorte discourse, touchinge Andreas Melanchton, Bucer, . . . Caluine, Beza, the late pretended Reformers of Religion . . . By Iohn Brekeley, Priest. . . . 1610. 4to.]

Date taken from Gillow's *Bibliographical Dictionary*; title from ed. of 1624. Gillow later considered that this reputed 1610 edition was non-existent,

being intended for the edition of 1624, which according to the imprint was printed 'At St. Omers for Iohn Heigham'. Copy of 1624 ed. in U.L.C.

6 [] THE CHRISTIANS MAN-
NA. or A Treatise Of the most Blessed and Reuerend Sacra-
ment of the Eucharist. Deuided into tvvo Tracts. Written
by a Catholike Deuine, . . . Imprinted with Licence, Anno
1613.

Sm. 4to, $7\frac{1}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{4}$, pp. [xii, *Ded. Epis. to the King signed*
R. N.], [xv, *Pref.*], [iii, *Contents*], 244 (*text*). [OScott.]

The first book on the Blundell-Anderton (1647) list. Exhibiting the tail-
piece, ornaments 2, 4, 6, and 19, and initials founts 6 and 11.

7 [FITZHERBERT, THOMAS, S.J., 1552-1640.] AN
ADIOYNDER TO THE SVPPLEMENT of Father Robert
Persons His Discussion of M. Doctor Barlowes Ansvvere &c.
. . . Imprinted with Licence, M.DC.XIII.

Sm. 4to, $7\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{4}$, pp. [vi, *t.p. and Printer's pref.*], [ii, *Table*],
495, [i, *Errata*], [viii, *Index (last p. blank)*]. [B.M.; OSCOTT.]

Has the tail-piece and ornaments 2, 4, 6, 10, and 11, the grotesque H (init. 1),
and other initial founts 3, 5, and 6.

8 BECANUS, MARTIN, S.J. A CONTROVERSY, IN
WHICH THE COMMVNION OF CALVIN is wholly
ouerthrowne, and The Reall Presence of Christs body in the
Eucharist confirmed. [*Ornament*] Permissu Superiorum,
M.DC.XIV.

Sm. 8vo, $6\frac{1}{4} \times 4$, pp. 38. [OScott.]

The first leaf is a half-title bearing only a plain capital A, which letter occurs
on p. 86 of Huntley's *Treatise* (No. 9).

9 GORDON HUNTLEY, JAMES, S.J. A TREATISE
CONCERNING The Church, wherein It is shewed, by Signes,
Offices, and Properties therof, that the Church of Rome (and
consequently such particular Churches as live in her Com-
munion) is the only true Church of Christ. Written in Latin,
by the Reuerend Father Iames Gordon Huntley of Scotland,
Doctour of Divinity, of the Society of Iesus. And translated

into English, by I. L. of the same Society. The third part of the second Controuersy. [Ornament] Permissu Superiorum, M.DC.XIV.

Sm. 8vo, $6\frac{1}{2} \times 3\frac{3}{4}$, pp. 114.

[B.M. ; OSCOTT.]

Ornaments 2 and 8, and initial fount 5.

The translator 'I. L.' is William Wright, D.D., S.J.; see *D.N.B.*, lxi, p. 135.

The author was James Gordon, the elder, 1541-1620.

IO KEMPIS, THOMAS À' [i.e. *Thomas Haemmerlein*] THE FOLLOWING OF CHRIST. . . . Written in Latin by . . .

Thomas A. Kempis . . . Whereunto also is added the golden Epistle of S. Bernard. And also certaine rules of a Christian life, made by Iohn Picus, the elder, Earle of Mirandula. Translated into English by B. F. Printed with Licence. 1615.

12mo, $4\frac{3}{4} \times 2\frac{1}{2}$, pp. [xvi] (*t.p.*, *Ded. Epis.*, & *Table*), 422, (*The text of the four books*), [xx] (*Golden Epis.*), [x] (*The Rules*); woodcut of 'Christ carrying the Cross' on back of t.p. and verso of last leaf. [STON.]

The book is a modernized version of Richard Whytford's Translation of the *Imitation*. The initials 'F. B.' and 'B. F.' are pseudonyms of Anthony Hoskins, S.J. (see *Dict. of Nat. Biog.*). The title occurs in the inventory of books seized from the Andertons in 1613. This edition is allocated to the Birchley Press by the Rev. C. A. Newdigate. It exhibits ornaments 2, 4, 6, and 9.

II CARIER, [BENJAMIN, D.D., 1566-1614]. A TREATISE, VVRITTEN by M. Doctor Carier, wherein hee layeth downe sundry learned and pithy considerations, by which hee was moued to forsake the Protestant Congregation, and to betake himself to the Catholike Apostolike Roman Church. Agreeing verbatim with the written copy, addressed by the sayd Doctor to the King his most Excellent Maiestie. [quot. from *Psalm* 44, 2 ll.; ornament] 1615.

Sm. 4to, $7\frac{1}{8} \times 5\frac{1}{8}$, pp. [ii, *t.p.* & *blank*], [iv, *Pref. to the King*], 44. [B.M., S.J. (Farm St.)]

This seems to belong to the group typified by pl. v, ornaments 2, 3, and 4 being used; but the line of ornament No. 4 (at the head of the t.p.) is doubled in

reverse, also it does not appear to be identical, being apparently a shade smaller, and presenting some minute differences. It also has an unduly worn appearance, when compared with later examples. The typography also has some differences, the general text fount being 38 mm. to the 10 ll. instead of 41 mm. Two ornaments also are quite new, whilst the example of ornament 3 is in double line. The paper exhibits good 'pot' watermarks, which at least negatives Liège, the reputed place of printing.

12 W[ORTHINGTON], T[HOmas, D.D., S.J., of Blainscough, nr. Wigan, 1549-1626]. WHYTE DYED BLACK. Or A Discouery of many most foule blemishes, impostures, and deceptes, which D. Whyte haith practysed in his book entituled The way to the true Church. Deuyded into 3 sortes . . . Written by T. W. P. And Dedicated to the Vniuersity of Cambridge. [*Latin quotations, 7 ll.*] Cum priuilegio 1615.

Sm. 4to, $7\frac{1}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{4}$, pp. [viii, t.p. & Ded. epis.], [vi, Pref.], [x, contents (first & last blank)], 184 (last blank).

[U.L.C.; STON.; USHAW.]

No. 2 in the Blundell-Anderton (1647) list, and typographically identical with Brekeley's *Liturgie of the Masse* (No. 25). Allocated to Birchley by the Rev. C. A. Newdigate, and exhibiting ornaments 4 and 6 (*see* pl. V).

13 NORRIS, SYLVESTER, D.D., [S.J., 1570-1630]. AN ANTIDOTE OR SOVERAIGNE REMEDIE against the Pestiferous writings . . . Deuided into three Parties . . . [*Pt. 1, 1st ed.*] Permissu Superiorum. M.DC.XV.

Sm. 4to, $7\frac{1}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{4}$, pp. [xx], 324. [B.M.; U.L.C.; DOUAI ABB.]

For remaining parts and 2nd editions *see* Nos. 24, 31, 32, 34, and 35. All these appear to have been printed at the same press and are usually ascribed to St. Omer. Typographically they belong to the Birchley group of pl. VIII, and it is significant that in the MS. bibliography of 'English writers of the Society of Jesus' dated 1632, printed in Foley's *Records*, vol. vi, p. 521 et seq., Nos. 31 and 32 are said to have been printed in London, by which, no doubt, England is meant. Pts. 1 and 2 are attributed to St. Omer, but the dates of publication given do not correspond either to Nos. 13 and 24, or to 34 and 35.

14 [SMITH, RICHARD, *Bishop of Chalcedon, 1568-1655.*] A SVMMARIE OF CONTROVERSIES: Wherein the chiefest points of the holy Catholike Romane Faith, are com-

pendiously and methodically proued, against the Sectaries of this Age. BY C. W. B. [*Quot. from Titus 3, 4 ll.*] Permissu Superiorum. M.D.C.XVI.

Sm. 8vo, $5\frac{1}{2} \times 3$, pp. [viii, *t.p.* & *Pref. to Reader*], 1-423 [*text*], [i, *Faults escaped*]. [ST. EDMUND'S COLL.]

A second edition of this work appeared in 1623, and is attributed to St. Omer. It is an entirely different book from Gordon Huntley's *Summary of controversies*, 1614 (2nd ed. 1618), and is almost certainly the book of this title attributed by John Gee to D[oc]tor Smith. A note in the copy at Beaumont College attributes it, however, to Richard Smith's predecessor in the see of Chalcedon, i.e. William Bishop. The initials C. W. B. fit neither, although 'B' probably stands for some designation or title. This book belongs to the group of pl. V. It possesses the peculiar ornament No. 4 and ornament No. 2 in the usual Birchley style, but the woodcut capital on p. I is not elsewhere noticed. The paper, however, is English, at least four different 'pot' watermarks being discernible, two bearing the initials J. F. and L. R., and another almost identical with fig. 3, pl. IV, and perhaps bearing the same initials. Accepted as possibly Birchley by the Rev. C. A. Newdigate.

15 CHAIN. A | Chayne of | Twelve Links. | To Wit XII Catho|lick Conditions Con|cerning certaine graces & Indulgences, | of Christes Catholick Church. | . . . Translated out of Italian into English | By I. W. | Whereunto are annexed, the Indul|gences graunted unto the Society of | the Rosary of our Blessed Lady, | . . . 1617.

Sm. 8vo, $5\frac{1}{2} \times 3\frac{1}{2}$, pp. [1 f. *blank*, *t.p.* 2 ff. *Translator's Pref.* signed 'I. W.'; 1 f. *Augmenter's Pref.* signed 'Your sarvant in all humility B. I.'], [9-114, *Text.*] [DOUAI ABB.]

I. W.'s preface is dated 20 October 1605. The augmenter's preface is undated, but presumably corresponds to the year of publication. Typographically this book belongs to the group of pl. V, the only ornament being an occasional double row of ornament 4, and compares closely with 'Keep Your Text'. Accepted as Birchley by Fr. Newdigate.

16 [WARFORD, WILLIAM, S.J., otherwise] 'GEORGE DOULEY, priest'. A BRIEF INSTRUCTION by way of A Dialogue, Concerning the principall points of Christian

Religion: Gathered out of the holy Scriptures, ancient Fathers & Councells. Permissu Superiorum, M.DC.XVI.

12mo, 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ × 3 $\frac{3}{8}$, pp. [xii, *t.p.* & *Pref.*], 346, last p. blank.

Pp. 275-345 comprise (with a separate *t.p.*): A Briefe and compedious methode for the better, and more easy examination of our Conscience, for a Generall Confession. Newly Reuiewed, and augmented by George Douley, Priest. [*Ornament (Jesuit emblem)*]. Anno Domini, M.DC.XVI. The 'Briefe Instruction' though attributed to Warford is perhaps by William Wright, D.D., S.J.—see *D. N. B.*, lxiii, p. 135.

This has the tail-piece and other Birchley ornaments, and is typographically identical with Bristow's *Motives* (No. 58), possessing the same points of identity mentioned in the note to that book. [Oscorr.]

17 [BROUGHTON, RICHARD, *Historian*, c. 1570-1635.] A NEW MANUAL of old Christian Catholick Meditations and Praiers faithfully collected and translated, without any words altered or added . . . 1617.

12mo, pp. [ii. *t.p.* and blank], 1-10 (*Address*, signed R. B.), 11-256 (*text*). [B.M.]

This edition is identified with the group of Pl. V by Fr. Newdigate.

18 [BROUGHTON, RICHARD, *Historian*, c. 1570-1635.] A MANUAL OF Praiers used by the Fathers of the Primatiue Church, for the most part within the foure first hundred yeares of Christ . . . by R. B. P. . . . With Licence. 1618.

12mo, pp. [i. *t.p.*], 3-8 (*Preface To our Most Renowned Queene Anne*, signed R. B. P.), 9-10, (*Contents*), 13-118 (*text*). [B.M.]

This edition is identified with the group of pl. V by Fr. Newdigate, and would seem to be a reprint of the Manual in the 1613 inventory of books seized at Lostock. It is included in Gee's catalogue where it is described as 'reprinted'—in England being inferred (see p. 156).

19 W[ORTHINGTON], TH[OMAS, D.D., S.J., of Blainscough Hall, near Wigan]. AN ANKER OF CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE. WHEREIN the most principal pointes of Catholique Religion are proued by the only written word of

God. . . . Permissu Superiorum. Printed at Doway by Thomas Kellam. Anno. 1618. [U.L.C.; St. Jos.]

Sm. 4to, $7\frac{3}{4} \times 5$, pp. 496. [Book I only.]

Preface signed Th. W. and known to be by Worthington. Though ostensibly printed at Douai, there is no doubt it was produced on a secret press in England. There are no less than fourteen different watermarks found in the 496 pp. of the copy examined, all being typical English 'pot' devices (see pl. IV, figs. 5, 6, and 7). Gee (1624) says 'Anker of Christian Doctrine, in foure parts . . . the last three printed in London . . .' It corresponds as regards text type to 'The Liturgie of the Mass' (see pl. V); also the title-page is similar, the line of ornament (No. 4) thereon being particularly noticeable. The Rev. C. A. Newdigate agrees in allocating it to Birchley. It may be significant that through his mother Isabel Anderton of Euxton, nr. Wigan, Worthington was a kinsman to the Andertons of Birchley.

20 COTON, PIERRE, *French Jesuit*, 1564-1626. The Interior occupation of the soule. . . . Composed in French . . . by the R. Father Pater Cotton . . . and translated into English by C. A. for the benefit of all our Nation. Whereunto Is prefixed a Preface by the Translator . . . Printed at Doway. 1618.

Sm. 8vo, pp. [310 + 2 *preliminary blank leaves*].

Accepted by Father Newdigate as possibly from Birchley; corresponding typographically with No. 22, which see for note as to C. A. the translator. Copies in St. Edmund's College, Old Hall, Ware, and Univ. Libr., Camb.

21 [MARTIN, GREGORY, c. 1560-82.] The Loue of the Soule. Made by G. M. Whereunto are annexed certaine Catholicke Questions to the Protestants. With a new addition of a Catalogue of the names of Popes. . . . Printed with licence, 1619.

Sm. 8vo, 5×3 [ff. 141, *paging irregular*].

Title and collation from the copy in the Bodleian Library. The book is credited to the Birchley group of pl. V by Fr. Newdigate, and it is significant that Gee describes it as 'printed in London'. The first treatise occupies pp. 1-79 (verso blank); then follows a t.p. for the 'Catalogue' with imprint 'Permissu Superiorum M.DC.XIX'; following the text of the 'Catalogue' is 'A Challenge' and 'The Protestants Answer' with separate pagings.

22 RICHEOME, LOUIS, S.J. HOLY PICTVRES of the mysticall Figures of the most holy Sacrifice and Sacrament of

the Eucharist, set forth in French by Lewis Richome, . . .
Translated . . . by C. A. . . . Printed with Licence, 1619.

Sm. 4to, $7\frac{1}{4} \times 5$, pp. [xiv] (*t.p.*, *transl. pref.*, &c.), 1-300
(*Text*), [xii] (*Table*), *Errata on last p.* [B.M. ; STON.]

Not in the Blundell-Anderton (1647) list, but apparently printed at the same press as No. 10, and ascribed to Birchley by the Rev. C. A. Newdigate. The initials are significant, since Christopher was the elder brother of Roger Anderton, who maintained the press at Birchley. The translator says he has never been out of England.

23 [] KEEPE YOVR TEXT.
OR A short discourse, wherein is sett downe a Method to
instruct, how a Catholike (though but competently learned)
may defend his Fayth against the most learned Protestant,
that is, if so the Protestant will tye himselfe to his owne
Principle and Doctrin, in keeping himselfe to the Text of the
Scripture. Composed by a Catholike Priest. [*Latin quot.*
2 ll.], [*Ornament*], 1619.

Sm. 4to, $7\frac{1}{8} \times 5\frac{1}{8}$, pp. [ii, *t.p.* & blank], [ii, *advertise to*
reader], 42. [St. BEUNO'S COLL.]

The 3rd book on the Blundell-Anderton list, and typographically in keeping with the 2nd on the list (pl. V), but possessing none of the usual ornaments. The *t.p.* ornament is a rough woodcut of a tall cross with a triple plinth inscribed: 'Tollentem Extollit. It crowneth the carrier.' Typical 'pot' watermarks (initials B. P.) similar to pl. IV, fig. 7.

24 NORRIS, SYLVESTER, D.D., [S.J., 1570-1630]. AN
ANTIDOTE OR SOVERAIGNE REMEDIE against the
Pestiferous writings . . . Deuided into three Partes . . . [*Pt. 2.*
1st edn.] Permissu Superiorum. M.DC.XIX.

Sm. 4to, $7\frac{1}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, pp. [viii], 248.

See No. 13 for note.

25 [ANDERTON, LAWRENCE, S.J., 1575-1643.] THE
LYTVRGIE of THE MASSE: Wherein are treated three
principal pointes of faith. . . . By John Breereley Preist. [*Orna-*
mental Rule ; Passage from Malachi, I. 11 (5 lines)] Printed at
Colen, 1620.

Sm. 4to, $7\frac{1}{8} \times 5\frac{3}{8}$, (*trimmed*) pp. [viii, *t.p.* & *Ded. Epis.*] 9-56, *Preface* [57-8 *blank*], 59-453 *text of five tracts* [p. 159 given as 139; 195 as 19; 287-8 repeated; p. 454 *blank*], [455]-467 *Contents*, &c.; 468-469, *Errata*; [470] *bl.* [B.M.; U.L.C.; W.P.L.]

Notwithstanding that the book is said to be printed in Cologne, and that on p. 468 'the printer's ignorance of our language' is offered as an excuse for the many mistakes, this is almost certainly a Birchley book; it is typographically identical with No. 12 (No. 2 in the Blundell-Anderton list), and it exhibits ornament 4 in the characteristic style. The press work is extremely bad.

26 [ANDERTON, LAWRENCE, S.J., 1575-1643.] SAINT AVSTINES RELIGION. Collected from his owne writings, and from the confessions of the learned Protestants: . . . Written by Iohn Brekeley. Printed 1620. [RYL.; OSCOTT.]

12mo, $4\frac{7}{8} \times 2\frac{5}{8}$, pp. 376 (1-17, *t.p.* & *Ded.*; 18-31, *Pref.*; *text of wk. ends* on p. 340; 341-61, *Table of Cont.*; 362-74, *Table of Principal Pointes*; 375, *Errata*; 376, *Blank.*]

The typography corresponds to the group of pl. V; ornament 4 is used in the characteristic Birchley style. Accepted as Birchley by Fr. Newdigate.

27 HUNT, JOHN, *Catholic Apologist*. An Humble appeale to the Kings most excellent maiestie. Wherein is proued, that our Lord and Sauour Iesus Christ, was Authour of the Catholike Roman Faith, which Protestants call Papistrie. Written by Iohn Hunt . . . [*Quotation, Ornament*]. 1620.

4to. pp. [viii], 86.

Attributed to the Birchley group of pl. V by the Rev. C. A. Newdigate. Title, &c., from the Brit. Museum Catalogue.

28 PARSONS, ROBERT, S.J., 1546-1610. A Little Treatise concerning Triall of Spirits Written first by the R. F. Robert Parsons . . . against Master Clarke. . . with an Appendix taken out of a later writer. [*Ornament*] Permissu Superiorum. 1620.

Sm. 8vo. pp. 58.

[STON.]

Identified by Fr. Newdigate as belonging to the group of pl. v. 'A little book of some 50 pp.' reprinting one ch. of Parsons's *Defence of the Censure*, 1582.

29 BELLARMINE, ROBERT, S.J., *Cardinal*. THE ART OF DYING WELL. Deuided into two Books. Written by Robert Bellarmine, of the Society of Iesus, and Cardinall. Translated into English for the benefit of our countrymen, by C. E. of the same Society. [*Typog. Ornament; quot. from Apoc. 14. with transl. 2 ll.*]. Permissu Superiorum, 1621.

Sm. 8vo, $5\frac{1}{4} \times 3\frac{3}{8}$, (*trimmed*) pp. [xxiv], [ii, *t.p. and blank*; iii–xvi, *Ded. Epis. signed C. E.*; xvii–xxii, *Pref. of Author*; xxiii & xxiv, *Contents*], 328.* [ST. EDMUND'S COLL.]

* Although this ends the text according to the t.p. a fragment of leaf in the binding of the copy examined seems to indicate additional pp. (? comprising pt. 2, *see* No. 36).

Several translations of works by Cardinal Bellarmine (*see* Nos. 53, 54, 57) occur in the Blundell-Anderton (1647) list of Birchley books, but not this one. Nevertheless this book is not only quite clearly from the same press as the 1608 'Apologie' (No. 3), but it also contains ornaments and woodcut initials, &c., identifying it with a number of others in the list. It is printed on English paper, two watermarks being identified, both typical English 'pot' devices bearing initials. The fount of type used for the text is the same as that of the *Miscellania* (No. 55) and several others.

The translator ('C.E.') and author of the *True Relation* (*see* No. 36) is 'Coffinus Exoniensis', i.e. Edward Coffin (alias Hatton), S.J., born at Exeter 1570; he died 1626.

30 [SMITH, RICHARD, D.D., *Bishop of Chalcedon*.] OF THE AVTHOR AND SVBSTANCE of the Protestant Church and Religion, Two bookes. Written first in Latin by R. S. Doctour of Diuinity, and now reuiewed by the Author, and translated into English by VV. Bas. Permissu Superiorum, M.DC.XXI.

8vo, $6\frac{3}{4} \times 4\frac{1}{2}$, pp. [xxxii, *t.p. & Pref. to Reader*], 329 [*text*], [v, *Table*]. [OScott.]

The translator is identified as Richard White, of Basingstoke. Ornaments 2 and 4.

31 NORRIS, SYLVESTER, D.D. [S.J., 1570–1630]. GUIDE OF FAITH, OR ANTIDOTE. . . . [Pt. 3, 1st ed.] Permissu Superiorum. M.DC.XXI.

Sm. 4to, $7\frac{1}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, pp. [viii], 1–12 *Pref.*, 13–232 *Text*.

See No. 13 for note.

32 NORRIS, SYLVESTER, *D.D.*, [S.J., 1570-1630]. AN APPENDIX TO THE ANTIDOTE . . . Permissu Superiorum, M.DC.XXI.

Sm. 4to, $7\frac{1}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, pp. 108.

See No. 13 for note.

33 PARSONS, ROBERT, S.J., 1546-1610. A CHRISTIAN DIRECTORY, Guiding men to Eternall Saluation: commonly called the Resolution. Deuided into three Bookes. The first wherof, teacheth how to make a good Resolution. The second, how to begin well. The third, how to perseuere, and end happily. Written By the R. Father Robert Persons, Priest of the Society of Iesus. The sixth, and last Edition. [Ornament; line from *Luc.* 10] Permissu Superiorum, M.DC.XXII.

12mo (*sig. in sixes*), 5×3 , pp. [xxiv] (*t.p.*; *Advert.*; *To the Reader*; and *Table*), 816 (*Text*). [B.M.; St. Jos.]

Not included in the Blundell-Anderton (1647) list. Ascribed to Douai by the Brit. Mus. and St. Omer by Fr. Newdigate, but unquestionably from the same press as the *Protestants Apologie*, 1608 (No. 3). Has the tail-piece and ornaments 4, 8, 10, and 11, with initial founts 4 and 5. This appears to be the edition referred to by Gee as being reprinted [? in England]—see p. 157.

34 NORRIS, SYLVESTER, *D.D.*, [S.J., 1570-1630]. AN ANTIDOTE OR TREATISE OF THIRTY CONTROVERSIES . . . Deuided into three Parties . . . [Pt. 1, 2nd ed.] Permissu Superiorum, M.DC.XXII.

Sm. 4to, $7\frac{1}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, pp. [xx], 338.

See No. 13 for note.

35 NORRIS, SYLVESTER, *D.D.*, [S.J., 1570-1630]. AN ANTIDOTE OR TREATISE OF THIRTY CONTROVERSIES . . . Deuided into three Parties . . . [Pt. 2, 2nd ed.] Permissu Superiorum, M.DC.XXII.

Sm. 4to, $7\frac{1}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, pp. [viii], 310.

See No. 13 for note.

36 BELLARMINE, ROBERT, S.J., *Cardinal*. THE ART OF DYING WELL. Devided into two Bookes. Written by Robert Bellarmine of the Society of Iesus, and Cardinall. Together with a Relation of the said Cardinalls sicknes, death, and buriall in Rome. Translated into English, by C. E. of the same Society. The Second edition. [*Jesuit device; quot. from the Apoc. 14 2 ll.*] Permissu Superiorum, M.DC.XXII.

12mo, $5\frac{1}{2} \times 3\frac{3}{8}$, pp. [ii, *t.p. and blank*], [xiv, *Ded. Epis. signed C. E.*], 416.* [OScott.]

* pp. 131-44 (inclusive) are missing from the text.

This '2nd ed.' is identical in forme-size, type, and ornamentation with the edition of 1621 (No. 29, which see for note) except that it has a new t.p., and additional preliminary matter (sheets**) 'Preface of the Author' and 'Contents'. The new t.p. has the Jesuit device for ornament and indicates the added treatise, which has its own t.p. on p. 329. This t.p. reads: *A TRUE RELATION OF THE LAST SICKENES AND DEATH of Cardinall Bellarmine. Who dyed in Rome the seauententh day of September 1621. And of such things as happened in, or since his Buriall. By C. E. of the Society of Iesus.* [*Ornament; quot., &c., 6 ll.*] Permissu Superiorum, M.DC.XXIII.

37 [NORRIS, SYLVESTER, D.D., S.J., 1570-1630]. THE PSEVDO-SCRIPTVRIST, | OR | A TREATISE | wherein is proved, | That the Wrytten Word of God (though most Sacred, Reuerend, and Diuine) is not the sole Iudge of Controuersies, in Fayth and Religion . . . Written by N. S. Priest and Doctour of Diuinity. . . Permissu Superiorum. M.DC.XXIII.

Sm. 4to, $7\frac{1}{4} \times 4$, pp. [xvi, *t.p., Ded. Epis., & Contents*], 147 (*Text*), p. 45 numbered as 64; 148 blank. [S.J. (Farm St.)]

No. 4 in the Blundell-Anderton list. The title occurs in the inventory of the books seized at Lostock in 1613; this publication must therefore be a second (or later) edition. The date (1623) preserves the chronology of the Blundell-Anderton list. Ascribed to St. Omer by Fr. Newdigate. Exhibits the lop-sided tail-piece (pl. II, fig. 1), ornaments 2, 7, 7a, 8, and 10, and initial founts 4, 5, 6, and 10.

38 [MUSKET otherwise FISHER, GEORGE, 1583-1645.] THE BISHOP OF LONDON his legacy. Or Certaine

Motives of D. King, late Bishop of London, for his change of Religion, and dying in the Catholike, and Roman Church. VVith a Conclusion to his brethren, the LL. Bishops of England. [Ornament; 2 ll. from *Apoc.* 14.] Permissu Superiorum, M.DC.XXIII.

Sm. 4to, 7 × 5, pp. xvi (*t.p.*, *Advert.*, *Epis. to Reader*, and *Contents*), 174 (*Text*). [U.L.C. Osc. RYL.]

[ANOTHER ISSUE] *Identical with first except imprint, which reads* Permissu Superiorum, M.DC.XXIII. (6½ × 4½.) [B.M.]

No. 6 in the Blundell-Anderton (1647) list; nevertheless this work is most excellently printed, and whilst it has many points of resemblance to the Birchley books, it possesses some distinctive ornaments and is attributed to St. Omer by the Rev. C. A. Newdigate. All the woodcut capitals are identical with those in the *Christians Manna* (No. 6).

39 [ANDERTON, LAWRENCE, S.J., 1575-1643] One God, One Fayth. OR A DISCOVERSE AGAINST Those Luke-warm-Christians, who extend Saluation to all kinds of Fayth and Religion; so, that the Professours do belieue in the Trinity, the Incarnation, the Passion &c. howsoever they differ in other inferiour Articles. VVritten by VV. B. Priest. [Ornament; quot. from *Ephes.* 4, & *Apoc.* 3 (4 ll.)] Permissu Superiorum. M.DC.XXV.

Sm. 8vo, 5¼ × 3¼, pp. [ii. *t.p.*]; 3-12, *Pref.*; 13-14, *Contents*; 15-192, *text*. [U.L.C.; DOUAI ABB.]

'W. B.' is one of the pseudonyms of Lawrence Anderton, whose authorship is confirmed by the copy acquired by the B.M. in 1923: formerly in the Library of the Jesuit College in Rome it has the attribution to L. A. written in ink on the *t.p.* in an old hand. The book is No. 5 in the Blundell-Anderton list; it possesses the tail-piece and ornaments 2, 9, and 10. See pl. VIII.

40 [PERCY, JOHN, S.J., 1569-1641, more generally known as John Fisher or Fairfax] THE ANSWERE VNTO The Nine Points of Controuersy, Proposed by our late Soueraigne (of Famous Memory) vnto M. Fisher . . . And the Reioynder Vnto

the Reply of D. Francis VWhite Minister . . . Permissu Superiorum, M.DC.XXVI. [B.M. ; U.L.C.]

Sm. 4to, $7\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, pp. [xxx, t.p. & Ded. epis.]; [xii, Pref.]; [x, contents]; [iv], 1-160, text of 'The True picture of D. White'; 14, t.p., preface, &c., to the 'Answer'; 15-120, 'A Short treatise concerning The Resolution of Fayth'; 121-400, text of the 'Answer to the Nyne Points'. Total pp. 610; sig.: *-****; a, e, i; A-V, Aa-Zz, Aaa-Zzz, Aaaa-Dddd.

The second t.p. (Aa) is dated 1625 and reads as above down to the word minister. Very similar, typographically, to other Birchley books, and containing ornaments 2, 3, 8, and 10, and initials 3a, 4, and 6. Further, this book is mentioned by Lawrence Anderton in his MS. verse addressed 'To Protestant Religion'—See Gillow, *Bibl. Dict.*, vol. v, p. 264.

41 RICHEOME, LOUIS, S.J. THE PILGRIME OF LORETO. Performing his vow made to the Glorious Virgin Mary Mother of God. . . Written in French, & translated into English by E. W. Printed at Paris, Anno Dom. M.DC.XXIX.

Sm. 8vo, $7\frac{1}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, pp. [x, t.p. & Ded. epis.], [viii, Contents], 446, 447-56, [Prayers to the Virgin]. [B.M. ; W.P.L.]

Has an ornamental engraved title-page which was not printed with the rest of the book, being separate and bound in by a 'guard'. Hence the imprint, 'Printed at Paris', is probably correct, but for the t.p. only. The text of the book exhibits ornaments 2, 8, and 10, the line combination of 2 and 10 being in characteristic Birchley style; and initial fount 6. The Dedictory Epistle is signed E. W., the initials being identified as Edward Worsley, S.J., by Fr. Newdigate who ascribes the book to St. Omer.

42 CLARE, JOHN, S.J., 1577-1628. THE CONVERTED IEW or certaine dialogues betweene MICHAËS a learned IEW, and others, . . . Written by M. Iohn Clare a Cathollicke Priest, of the Society of Iesus. . . Permissu Superiorum, Anno. M.DC.XXX.

Sm. 4to, $7\frac{1}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, pp. [xviii & 2 blank ff.], 124 (text of pt. 1), 156 (text of pt. 2), 142 (text of pt. 3 'The Arraignment of the Converted Jew, or the third dialogue'). [B.M. ; STON.]

No. 7 in the Blundell-Anderton list, but bearing little resemblance to the

others inspected in the matter of type and ornamental letters. Nevertheless, though wanting the usual long list of 'errata' common to the Birchley Press, the book is equally full of errors. The printer possessed neither a fount of Greek type nor an efficient proof-reader. Clare's authorship is disputed.

43 LESSIUS, LEONARDUS, 1554-1623. RAVVLEIGH, HIS GHOST. Or, A Feigned Apparition of Syr VValter Rawleigh, to a friend of his, for the translating into English, the Booke of Leonard Lessius . . . entituled: De prouidentia Numinis, & Animi immortalitate . . . Translated by A. B. Permissu Superiorum, M.DC.XXXI. [B.M.; U.L.C.]

8vo, pp. [8 ff. *t.p.* & blank. *Pref.*], 1-457, *text*.

No. 8 in the Blundell-Anderton list. Title and date from the British Museum Catalogue, where Douai is suggested as the place of printing. The translator 'A. B.' may be Thomas Everard, S.J., 1560-1633—*see* No. 57.

44 [ANDERTON, LAWRENCE, S.J., 1575-1643]. *Virginalia*, or Spiritual Sonnets in prayse of the most glorious Virgin Marie, vpon euerie severall Title of her Litanies of Loreto: All or the most part of the principall passages therein confirmed by the euident testimonies of the ancient Fathers, to preuent the obiections of such, as vsually detract from her deserved prayses. By I. B. Printed with Licence. 1632.

Sm. 8vo, sig. A-C8 in eights (? 48 pp.).

The only known copy of this book was purchased by the late Mr. Joseph Gillow at the Huth Library Sale (first portion, No. 887) 22 November 1911. As to authorship *see* p. 146.

45 CAMPION, [EDMUND, S.J., 1540-81]. CAMPIAN ENGLISHED. Or a Translation of the Ten Reasons, in which Edmund Campian (of the Societie of Iesus) Priest, insisted in his challenge, to the Vniuersities of Oxford and Cambridge. Made by a Priest of the Catholike and Roman Church. [*Ornament; passage from the Apoc. 2 ll.*] Printed with Licence. M.DC.XXXII.

16mo, 4½ × 3, pp. [ii, t.p.], 3-192, (*Ded. &c. & text*) [iv, *Contents and blank leaf*]. [STON.; USHAW.]

No. 9 in the Blundell-Anderton list and hitherto untraced. Though the translator provides a dedication to the English Jesuits (pp. 3-13) and an Epistle to the Reader (pp. 14-30) neither is signed and there is no clue to his identity, but as he repeatedly refers to his priestly duties he cannot be Roger Anderton; nor can he be Lawrence Anderton since he distinguishes his 'owne ranke of priests' from the Jesuits; whilst Richard Stock's translation is heartily condemned. The paper has no watermark. In its typography the book closely resembles the 1615 edition of Carier's *Treatise* (No. 11), and, as in that book, the letter *w* used, both for Roman and Italic, belongs to a different fount. There is also an ornament common to both, but none of the three ornaments in this book is found elsewhere in the presumed Birchley books. Rev. C. A. Newdigate is of the opinion that this book was printed at Rouen.

46 [ANDERTON, LAWRENCE, S.J., 1575-1643.] THE TRIPLE CORD OR A TREATISE proving the truth of the Roman Religion, . . . With a Discouery of sundry subtile Sleights vsed by Protestants, for euading the force of strongest Arguments, taken from cleerest Texts of the foresaid Scriptures . . . Permissu Superiorum, M.DC.XXXIIII.

Sm. 4to, 6 × 5½, pp. 812 (16 ff. *unnumbered*, t.p. & *Ded. Epis. signed* N. N.; 5 ff. *Pref.*; 12 ff. *Table*; *Text ends on* p. 801; [802-812 *unnumbered*] 'Faultes escaped' & Alph. Table. [B.M.; DOUAI ABB.; RYL.]

This book is unquestionably printed on the same press as the 1608 *Protestants Apologie* (No. 3) and Parsons's *Christian Directory* (No. 33), and like them is given to St. Omer by the Rev. C. A. Newdigate. The authorship is ascribed to Lawrence Anderton by Alegambe (1643), Southwell (1676), but it is not a 'Brekeley' book. The date has been wrongly given as M.DC.XXXIII in *Lancashire Printed Books* (Hawkes, 1925).

47 [ANDERTON, LAWRENCE, S.J., 1575-1643.] THE NON-ENTITY of PROTESTANCY or A Discourse, wherein is demonstrated, that Protestancy is not any Reall thing, . . . Written by a Catholike Priest of the Society of Iesus. . . . Permissu Superiorum, 1633.

12mo, $6\frac{1}{4} \times 4$, pp. [xii, *t.p.* & *Ded. Epis.*], [iv, *Contents*],
264 (*last blank*). [B.M.; USHAW.]

No. 10 in the Blundell-Anderton list; is signed W. B., the initials being one of the pseudonyms of Lawrence Anderton (*see* No. 39 and Gillow's *Bibl. Dict.*, vol. 1, p. 40, book No. 5). It exhibits ornaments 2, 6, 8, 9, and 10, and initial founts 5 and 6.

48 []. PURITANISME THE
MOTHER, SINNE THE DAUGHTER . . . Written By a
Catholike Priest, upon occasion of certain late most execrable
Actions of some Puritans, expressed in the page following. . .
Permissu Superiorum, M.DC.XXXIII.

8vo, $6 \times 3\frac{1}{2}$ (badly cropped), pp. [viii], 184. [B.M.; U.L.C.]

No. 11 in the Blundell-Anderton list. The Dedication is signed B. C., but the suggestion I have made elsewhere that these initials may be those of Benjamin Carier is negated by the statement on the title-page that the funeral sermon on Drs. Henry Butts and Daniel Price in the appendix is 'by the same author' since these gentlemen only died in 1631 and 1632 respectively. Carier died in 1614.

49 [] An Apology of English Arminianisme or a dialogue, between Iacobus Arminius, . . . and Enthusiastus . . . , and a great Precisian. Wherein Are defended the Doctrines of Arminius touching Freewill, Predestination, and Reprobation . . . Written By O. N. heertofore of the Vniuersity of Oxford. . . Permissu Superiorum, 1634.

Sm. 8vo, pp. [1 *f. blank*, *t.p.* 1 *f. Argument of Dialogue*.
4 *ff. Ded. epis.*], [1-200, *Text*]. [B.M.; BODL.]

No. 12 in the Blundell-Anderton list, and in the correct chronological sequence, but attributed to St. Omer by Father Newdigate.

50 [ANDERTON, LAWRENCE, S.J., 1575-1643.] MARIA
TRIVMPHANS. Being a Discourse, wherin (by way of
Dialogue) the B. Virgin Mary Mother of God, is defended, . . .
Permissu Superiorum. 1635.

12mo, $4\frac{1}{4} \times 2\frac{3}{8}$, pp. 338 *one blank leaf*. [B.M.; ST. JOS.]

No. 14 in the Blundell-Anderton list. It exhibits ornaments 2, 4, 5, 10, and

11, and initial fount 5. The Dedication is signed N. N., which in view of the associations may be assumed to be Lawrence Anderton.

51 CARRIER, B[ENJAMIN, D.D., 1566-1614]. A CARRIER TO A KING. OR Doctour Carrier (Chaplayne to K. Iames of happy memory) his Motiues for renouncing the Protestant Religion: and persuading to Re-vnion with the Cath. Roman. [Passage from *Psal.* 44, 2 ll.] Permissu Superiorum. 1635.

Sm. 12mo, $4\frac{3}{4} \times 2\frac{3}{4}$, pp. 1-6 (to the Reader), 7-130 (text) [pp. 97-8, & 119-20, are in manuscript.] [USHAW.]

Not included in the Blundell-Anderton (1647) list, but typographically identical with the *Maria Triumphans*, No. 50. The first edition (1615, see No. 11) is said to have been printed at Liège (where it was written in 1613), under the title: *A Treatise written by Mr. Doctour Carier*, but no place of printing appears on the book.

52 [] ΑΔΕΛΦΟΜΑΧΙΑ, OR THE WARRS OF PROTESTANCY. Being a Treatise, wherein are layd open the wonderfull, and almost incredible DISSENTIONS of the Protestants . . . Written by a Catholic Priest WHEREVNTO IS ADIOYNED A briefe Appendix, . . . M.DC.XXXVII.

Sm. 8vo, $6\frac{1}{2} \times 4$, [ii. t.p.], 3-9 (*Ded. Epis.*), 10 (*Advert to reader*), 11-16 (*Tables*), 17-32 (*Pref.*), 33-152 (*Text*), 153-90 (*Appendix & Errata*) . . . [USHAW.]

No. 15 in the Blundell-Anderton list. It has the lop-sided tail-piece, ornaments 2, 9, and 10, and initial fount 6. The Dedication is signed B. C., and as the author describes himself on the title-page as 'a Catholic priest' the book is clearly by the same author as *Puritanisme* (No. 48).

53 BELLARMINE, ROBERT, S.J., Cardinal. OF THE ETERNAL FELICITY of the Saints . . . Written in Latin by . . . Cardinall Bellarmine, of the Society of Iesus. Translated into English by A. B. Permissu Superiorum. 1638. [B.M.]

12mo, pp. 441.

No. 16 in the Blundell-Anderton list. Gillow (*Bibl. Dict.*, ii, p. 192), however, says that this edition was printed at St. Omer. But the date preserves the chronology of the Blundell-Anderton list, and Fr. Newdigate makes no

mention of it. Gillow postulates a supposititious edition of 'about 1624' for Birchley, which seems quite contrary to the evidence of the list.

54 BELLARMINE, Robert, S.J., *Cardinal*. Of the Seaven Wordes Spoken by Christ vpon the Crosse, Two Bookes. Written in Latin by the most Illustrious Cardinall Bellarmine, of the Society of Iesus. And translated into English by A. B. [i.e. Thomas Everard, S.J.] . . . Permissu Superiorum. 1638. 12mo (in 8s & 4s), A-Éez. [U.L.C.]

Title from Hazlitt's *Bibliog. Coll. and Notes*, vol. 4, p. 27b. No. 18 in the Blundell-Anderton list. Has an oval I.H.S. device of 32 mm. on t.p. (see Sayle's *Early Eng. Pr. Bks.*, vol. iii, p. 1468), and belongs to the group which Fr. Newdigate ascribes to St. Omer.

55 [ANDERTON, LAWRENCE, S.J., 1575-1643.] MISCELLANIA OR A TREATISE containyng Two Hundred Controuersiall Animaduersions, . . . Written by N. N. P. And dedicated to the yonger sort of Catholike Priests, and other students in the English Seminaries beyond the Seas. With a Pareneticall Conclusion vnto the said Men. [Ornament; passage from 2. Tim. 4. (3 lines).] Printed Anno M.DC.XL.

8vo, 5 $\frac{1}{4}$ × 3 $\frac{1}{8}$, (closely trimmed), pp. [ii], 398, xii (f. 1, blank, f. 2, t.p. pp. 3-8, *Epis. Ded.*; 9-379 *Text of Animaduersions*; 379-97 *Parenthetical conclusion*; 398 *Commencement of Table*; rest of the table on 5 leaves unnumbered, last leaf blank; pp. 202-3 are given as 212-13). [OScott.]

'N. N.' is known to be one of the pseudonyms of Lawrence Anderton (see No. 46), and the additional P. may signify 'priest'. The book is No. 20 in the Blundell-Anderton list, and exhibits ornaments 2, 7, and 8, and initial fount v. It is given to St. Omer by the Rev. C. A. Newdigate, but the reference to 'the English seminaries beyond the seas' suggests an English origin: see pl. IX.

56 DU PERRON, JACQUES DAVY, *Cardinal*. Luthers Alcoran. Being a Treatise first written in French by the Learned Cardinal Peron, of famous memory, against the Huguenots

of France. And Translated into English by N. N. P. Imprinted with Licence. M.DC.XLII.

8vo.

Title from Hazlitt's *Bibliog. Coll. and Notes*, vol. 1, p. 327. Not in the Brit. Mus. N. N. P[riest] is probably Lawrence Anderton, the book apparently corresponding to the group of pl. IX.

57 BELLARMIN OF THE LAMENTATION OF YE DOVE, TRANSLATED.

This entry (No. 17) in the Blundell-Anderton list has been tentatively identified by Gillow with 'The Mourning of the Dove; or, of the great Benefit and Good of Teares. III. Bookes. Written in Latin by the most Illustrious Card. Bellarmine of the Society of Jesus, and translated into English by A. B. Permissu Superiorum, 1641' 18mo, pp. 546 [iv]. This date (1641), however, puts the chronological sequence of the list a year or so wrong, and Fr. Newdigate ascribes the edition to the St. Omer College Press, at the same time noting the use of a Boscard device. There was probably an earlier edition with the word 'Lamentation' instead of 'Mourning'. 'A. B.', the translator, is identified as Thomas Everard, S.J., 1560-1633.

58 BRISTOW, RICHARD, D.D., 1538-81. MOTIVES INDVING TO THE CATHOLIKE FAITH. Wherein are set downe sundry plaine & sure Wayes to find out the Truth . . . The III Edition. . . Permissu Superiorum, Anno 1641. [B.M.; OSCOTT.]

12mo, 5 $\frac{1}{4}$ x 3, pp. [ii, t.p. & blank], 20 [pref. to Reader], 21-308 (text), 309-11 (Tables), [Notice to Reader], 312.

Typographically corresponding to *Miscellania* (No. 55), and exhibiting the damaged head ornaments (pl. II, fig. 2) found in Nos. 10, 30, &c.; also distinguished by the same trick of tightening the line of ornaments with query marks, commas, &c. Initial fount 5.

59 [ANDERTON, LAWRENCE. S.J., 1575-1643.] THE ENGLISH NVNNE. Being a Treatise, wherein (by way of Dialogue) the Author Endeauoureth to draw yong & unmarried Catholike Gentlewomen to imbrace a Votary, and Religious Life. Written by N. N. . . Permissu Superiorum, M.DC.XLII.

8vo, 6 $\frac{9}{16}$ x 3 $\frac{3}{8}$, pp. 175, verso blank (Epis. Ded. begins on

p. 3 & Text on p. 17; in B.M. copy there is apparently an original blank leaf before the t.p.).

No. 22 in the Blundell-Anderton list, and exhibiting the usual ornaments. Ascribed to St. Omer by Fr. Newdigate.

60 [] THE CATHOLIKE YONGER BROTHER. OR A short Discourse, wherein the Author propoundeth vnto Catholike Yonger Brothers (who haue byn brought vp in Erudition, Learning, and Piety, and yet remayne vnmarried) to take vpon them, the Sacred Order of Priesthood. Written by a Cath. & Roman Priest. Heereunto is adioyned, by the foresaid Author, a Translation of a Treatise made by the Reuerand man, Antonius de Molina, a Spaniard, and Carthusian Monke, entituled De dignitate Sacerdotum: Which Treatise, for its worth, hath receaued already seauen severall Impressions. [*Ornament; passage from Malachi, 2 ll.*], Permissu Superiorum, M.DC.XLII. [USHAW.]

Sm. 8vo, 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ × 4, [Blank leaf, t.p., 3-184 (*last blank*)].

The Treatise by Molina has a separate t.p. (pp. 61-2), but the paging continues. The 2nd t.p. reads 'Of the Dignity of Priests, Being a treatise of that subject made by . . . Molina . . . and anow translated into English. Permissu Superiorum, M.DC.XLII.' There is neither Ded., Pref., nor any preliminary matter, but the translator cannot be Roger Anderton. No. 23 in the Blundell-Anderton list. Ornaments 2, 7, and 8 are used, together with initial fount 6, and the large Y (pl. I, fig. 7).

61 CLAVIS HOMERICA. Reserans Significationes, Etymologias, Derivationes, Compositiones et Dialecticos omnium fere vocabulorum quae in XXIV libris Iliadis Homeri continentur . . . In gratiam studiosae Iuventutis Societatis Iesu. Huic adjicitur brevis appendix de Dialectis. Auctore R.P.N.N. Anglo, Oxoniensi, Soc. Iesu. Duaci, Typis Viduae Martini Bogardi, sub signo Parisiorum. The engraved t.p. has: Clavis Homerica. In gratiam iuventutis Literarum Graecarum studiosae, Soc. Iesu. Auctore R.P. Anto. Roberti Anglo. Duaci, Apud Viduam Martini Bogardi, 1636.

8vo, pp. 352. The 'Praefatio Paraentetica' is signed A. R. [B.M.]

A second edition was printed in London in 1638 with the imprint: Londini, Typis E. G. sumptibus Godefridi Emersoni in Parva Bretagnia. 1638. [B.M.]

8vo, pp. 399. Index. Epistle signed G. P. Praefatio paraentetica signed A. R.

The 'Editio tertia' was printed in London in 1647; and editions appeared at Gouda in 1649 and at Rotterdam in 1655.

This book is the 19th title on the Blundell-Anderton list and presents something of a puzzle, for the known editions were certainly not printed at Birchley, and there seems to be no reason why it should ever have been printed at a secret press. I am able to print the title and collations by the courtesy of Father Newdigate, who informs me that Anthony Roberts is evidently a pseudonym as no such member of the Society of Jesus is known. As an explanation of its inclusion in the B.-A. list he very tentatively suggests that the author may have been Lawrence Anderton and that Roger Anderton subsidized its printing. An alternative suggestion, however, is made by Mr. H. Ince Anderton, who reads Antitonio Roberti as a kind of anagram of Roger Anderton. Thomas Anderton, S.J. (Roger's first cousin once removed) rendered his name in Latin *Anditono* and adopted as a pseudonym the anagram form Nordtano. On this theory the book appears in the list of Roger's *Workes* because he actually wrote it, which may also explain why it occurs towards the end and out of chronological order. The large use of Greek type would probably prevent him printing the book at Birchley.

The following (items 13 and 24) in the Blundell-Anderton (1647) list have not so far been identified.

62 An Antidote against Purgatorie.

63 A Panegyricke, or Laudative Discourse.

WAS NICHOLAS UDALL THE AUTHOR OF
'THERSITES' ?

By A. R. MOON



READERS of *Ralph Roister Doister*, the 'first English comedy' as it has been called, may remember that it has a moral purpose despite its rough-and-tumble humour and that the author is proud of his success in 'avoiding scurrility' and 'mirth wherein is abuse'.

Our Comedie or Enterlude which we intend to play
Is named Royster Doyster in deede.
Which against the wayne glorious doth invey,
Whose humour the roysting sort continually doth feede.

A curious parallel now arises. In the year 1537 a play having the same moral was prepared for performance between the birth of Edward VI (12 October 1537) and the death of his mother, Jane Seymour (24 October 1537). *Thersites* is the title of this 'new enterlude', which 'dothe declare howe that the greatest boesters are not the greatest doers'. The hero's vaunts are more extravagant than 'Roister Doister's', while his cowardice is many degrees more absurd.

Miles. By my trouthe, I thynke that very skante
This lubber dare adventure to fighte with an ant.

Thersites, however, does battle—with a snail! He is victorious, but not without shouting for shield and spear, and for help from his servants.

Thersites. Well, seinge my servauntes come to me will not,
I must take hede that this monster me spyll not,
I wyll joparde with it a joynte,
And, other with my clubbe or my sweardes poynthe,
I wyll reche it suche woundes,
As I would not have for XLM poundes . . .

Then he must fyghte against the snayle with his clubbe.

Miles. O Jupiter Lorde! doest thou not see and heare
How he feareth the snayle as it were a bere?

Thersites. Well, with my clubbe I have had good lucke,
Now with my sworde have at the a plucke,

And he must cast his club awaye.

I wyll make the, or I go, for to ducke,
And thou were as tall a man as frier Tucke!
I saye yet agayne thy hornes in drawe,
Or elles I wyll make the to have woundes rawe.

The soldier, disgusted with such cowardice, attacks the
boaster, but the latter runs behind his mother's back.

Thersites. O mother, mother, I praye the me hyde!
Throwe some things over me and cover me every syde!

Roister Doister is an arrant coward also. One slight blow
deflates his bold chest and finds him suing for mercy.

R. D. 'Strikest thou indeed, and I offer but in jest?'

To the Scrivener whom he has sworn to cut to pieces he wails,
'Why, wilt thou strike me again?'

These extracts convey some idea of similarity of subject,
although they are inadequate for drawing conclusions.

II

The problem I wish to raise is, 'Who is the author of
Thersites?'

The editors of the Temple edition of *Roister Doister* conclude their preface by suggesting a link between the two interludes. In this connexion I have made a discovery which may be of some importance, since I believe that Udall is the author.

In 1542 Grafton issued the first edition of Udall's translation of the third and fourth books of Erasmus' *Apophthegmes*, a collection of 'prompte, quicke, wittie, and sentencious saynges of
'certain Emperours, Kynges, Capitaines, Philosophiers, and
'Oratours, as well Grekes as Romaines, bothe veraye pleasaunt
'and profitable to reade'. The Greek philosophers Socrates,

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Aristippus, and Diogenes appear first. The second book is devoted to Greek kings, Philippus, Alexander the Great, and Antigonus. At the conclusion of the last King's 'piththie saynges' (p. 225) we read,

'Now to the entente that we may after a sorte make some lykely matche of Roomaines with the Grekes, we shal to Alexander sette Julius Cæsar, to Philippe we shal sette Augustus and to Antigonus we shall turne Pompeius of Rome.'

After about 600 closely printed pages, the reader learns that there are yet more delights in store.

'Now if ye have not yet youre bealye full of this banquet, we shall adde also out of the noumbre of the oratours twoo of three of the principalles and veraye best.'

Then follow the sayings of the three philosophers Phocion, Cicero, Demosthenes.

III

I trust I may be forgiven for this apparent digression, for it is relevant to my principal topic. Having mentioned the scope of the work which occupies over 700 pages, I can leave it to the reader to imagine the time that must have been spent on its composition. Udall has prefaced short biographies of his own to the section about Augustus, and has added an A.B.C. of contents to the volume. Such a work would have taken him between three and four years, probably from the time that the second edition of his *Flowers for Latine Speakyng* was published in 1538. In other words there is no great gap in time, if any, between the preparation of *Thersites* and Udall's *Apophthegmes*. On 3 February 1537-8 he was paid for an interlude performed by Eton boys before Cromwell. He was Vicar of Braintree from 1537 to 1544, and that his duties were performed there we know from his subsequent attachment to the Parr family. In March 1541 he was brought before the Privy Council and imprisoned in the Marshalsea for a period. Probably with this

fresh in his mind Udall inserted a pathetic little note on p. 202 of the *Apophthegms*.

'Would Christ all iudges would dooe like wyse at these dayes'
(i.e. reserve one ear for the 'defendaunte').

IV

Very often, almost invariably in this volume, Udall writes illustrative notes in the couplet form, pp. 19, 65, 123, 127 v., 130 v., 139, 140, &c. Occasionally, from the Latin or Greek, he versifies in quatrains, pp. 59, 62, 62 v., 66, 122 v., 153 v., &c. Rarely, however, do his verses attain any length, saving in two instances.

The first will be found on p. 146 v., where a quotation from the *Iliad*, book III, referring to Hector's rebuking Paris, and the latter's reply, occupies sixteen lines (i.e. eight couplets).

The second appears at p. 180, and is very significant. The translator's notes, as distinct from prefatory matter, are usually brief. In this case, however, on p. 179 v., a mention has been made of Thersites. I quote Udall's note.

Thersites was one of y^e Grekes and came among the moo out of the countree of Aetolia unto the battaill of Troye; a greate gentleman born, but the wurst of feature, of shape and of fauoure, that possible might bee, and a *veraye cowarde*. Whom Homerus in his secounde volume of his werke intituled *Ilias* (that is of the battaill of Troye) describeth bothe in woordes and sense much lyke as foloeth.

Emong all others to Troye there came,
An euill fauoured geaste, called by name
Thersites, a pratleer bee ye sure,
Without all facion, ende or measure.
What soeuer came, in his foolish brain,
Out it should, wer it neuer so vain.
In eche mannes bote would he haue an ore,
But no woorde, to goode purpose, lesse or more;
And without all maner, would he presume
With kynges and princes, to cocke and fume.

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In feactes of armes, nought could he dooe,
Nor had no more herte, then a gooce therunto.
All the Grekes did hym, deride and mocke,
And had hym, as their commen laughyng stocke.
Squyntyed he was, and looked nyne wayes.
Lame of one leg, and hympyng all his dayes.
Croumpshouldreed, and shrunken so ungoodly,
As though he had had but halfe a bodye.
An hedde he hadde (at whiche to ieste and scoffe)
Copped like a tankarde or a sugar lofe.
With a bushe pendente, undernethe his hatte,
Three heares on a side, like a drowned ratte.

And not long after his arriual to Troye, for that he was so buisie of his tongue, so full of chattyng and pratleyng with euery kyng and noble manne of the Grekes, Achilles beeyng moued with his saucynes and ymportunitee, up and gaue hym suche a cuff on the care, that he slewe hym out of hande, with a blowe of his fist.

V

As further evidence of similarity of interest, and also of resort to a closely similar play upon words in the two comedies, I would recommend a comparison of *Thersites*, p. 127, ll. 35-77:

Mulciber. Why, Thersites, hast thou anye wytte in thy head?
Woldest thou have a sallet nowe all the herbes are dead?
Besyde that it is not mete for a smyth
To gether herbes, and sallettes to medle with.

Thersites. I meane a sallet with whiche men do fyght,
M. It is a small tastinge of a mannes mighte
That he shoulde for any matter
Fyght with a fewe herbes in a platter!
No greate laude shoulde folowe that victorye!

Tb. (I pray thee,) Mulciber, where is thy wit and memory?
I wolde have a sallet made of stele!

M. Whye syr, in youre stomacke longe you shall it fele.
For stele is harde for to digest.

Tb. Mans bones and sydes, hee is worse then a beest!

- I wolde have a sallet to were on my hed,
Whiche under my chyn with a thonge red
Buckeled shall be.
Doest thou yet perceyve me?
M. Your mynde now I se.
Why, thou pevysshe ladde,
Arte thou almost madde,
Or well in thy wytte?
Gette the a wallette!
Wolde thou have a sallette
What woldest thou do with it?
Tb. I pray the, good Mulciber, make no mo bones,
But let me have a sallet made at ones!
M. I must do somewhat for this knave!
What maner of sallet, syr, woulde ye have?
Tb. I wold have such a one that nother might nor mayne
Shoulde perse it thorowe, or parte it in twayne;
Whiche nother gonstone, nor sharpe speare,
Shoulde be able other to hurte or teare.
I woulde have it also for to save my heade
Yf Jupiter him selfe woulde have me dead;
And if he, in a fume, woulde cast at me his fire,
This sallet I woulde have to kepe me from his yre.

with the similar sustained play upon words in *Roister Doister*,
Act iv. Sc. 7, ll. 8-21 :

ROISTER DOISTER AND MATHEW MERYGREEKE

- R. D. Yes, they shall know, and thou knowest I have a stomach.
M. M. A stomach (quod you), yea, as good as e'er man had.
R. D. I trow they shall find and feel that I am a lad.
M. M. By this cross, I have seen you eat your meat as well
As any that e'er I have seen of or heard tell.
A stomach, quod you? he that will that deny,
I know, was never at dinner in your company.
R. D. Nay, the stomach of a man it is that I mean.
M. M. Nay, the stomach of a horse or a dog, I ween.
R. D. Nay, a man's stomach with a weapon, mean I.
M. M. Ten men can scarce match you with a spoon in a pic.
R. D. Nay, the stomach of a man to try in strife.
M. M. I never saw your stomach cloyed yet in my life.
R. D. Tush, I mean in strife or fighting to try.

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Compare again *Thersites*, p. 130, ll. 116-17

Yf Bevis of Hampton, Colburne and Guy,
Will the assaye, set not by them a flye,

with *Roister Doister*, Act 1, Sc. 2, ll. 123-4.

Who is this? great Goliah, Sampson, or Colbrand?
No (say I) but it is a Brute of the Alie land.

and *Thersites*, p. 130, ll. 125-36.

I wyll neyther spare for heate nor for colde,
Where art thou king Arthur, and the Knightes of the Rounde Table?
Come, brynge forth your horses out of the stable.
Lo! with me to mete they be not able!
By the masse, they had rather were a bable!
Where arte thou Gawyn the curtesse and Cay the crabed?
Here be a couple of knightes cowardishe and scabbed!
Appere in thy likenesse Syr Libeus Disconius,
Yf thou wilt have my clubbe lyghte on thy hedibus.
Lo! ye maye see he beareth not the face
With me to trye a blowe in thys place.
Howe syrray, approche Syr Launcelot de Lake

with *Roister Doister*, Act 1, Sc. 2, ll. 116-22.

When your maship passeth by, all such as I meet,
That sometimes I can scarce find what answer to make.
Who is this (saith one) Sir Launcelot du Lake?
Who is this, great Guy of Warwick, saith another?
No (say I) it is the thirteenth Hercules brother.
Who is this? noble Hector of Troy, saith the third?
No, but of the same nest (say I) it is a bird.

That the author of *Thersites* was an Oxford man is certain from
Thersites, p. 131, ll. 154-5;

The proctoure and his men I made to renne their waies,
And some wente to hide them in *broken beys*.¹

We know that Udall was at Oxford from 1520 to 1528.
Thersites, p. 132, ll. 180-7.

After that in hell I have ruffled so,
Streighte to olde purgatorye wyll I go.

¹ A piece of waste land between the Castle and the City Walls of Oxford.
(See the note in A. W. Pollard's *Miracle Plays*.)

Was Nicholas Udall the Author of 'Thersites'? 191

I wyll cleane that so purge rounde aboute,
That we shall nede no pardons to helpe them oute.
Yf I have not fyghte ynoughe this wayes,
I wyll clymbe to Heaven and fet awaye Peters kayes,
I wyll kepe them myselfe and let in a great route.
What shoulde suche a fysher kepe good felowes out?

This is in keeping with the Lutheran tendency he showed whilst at Corpus Christi.

Both plays were written for or adapted to a London audience.
Thersites, p. 131, ll. 159-60.

Tb. Early and late I wyll walke,
And London stretes stalke,

Thersites, p. 133, ll. 214-22.

Whyle beggers have lyce,
And cockneys are nyce,
Whyle pardoners can lye,
Marchauntes can by,
And chyl dren crye,
Whyle all these laste and more,
Whiche I kepe in store,
I do me faythfully bynde,
Thy kyndnes to beare in mynde.

Roister Doister, Act 1, Sc. 2, l. 47.

But if ye had, the Tower could not you so hold.

Roister Doister, Act 11, Sc. 4, ll. 40-1.

Yet I looked as far beyond the people
As one may see out of the top of Paul's steeple.

Similarities in diction are not wanting, and at some future date I hope to publish the results of a study of all Udall's extant work.

My present suggestions are :

1. *Thersites* was written by Nicholas Udall while he still had some connexion with Oxford, but certainly not before 1532.

2. Possibly following his employment as writer of verses at Anne Boleyn's coronation in 1533, he was called on to present

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an interlude at the rejoicings accompanying the fulfilment of Henry VIII's dearest wish, to have a son. He had other work on hand, i.e. revision of his *Floures for Latine Spekyng* for the second edition, 1538, and realizing there was no time to write a new play, gave a few touches to *Thersites*, and added a dozen lines to the end, bringing it up to date.

3. The untimely death of the Queen curtailed all national festivities, and Udall's play was not performed.

4. Either at Christmas 1537 or early in the New Year, i.e. two months after the Queen's death, Udall brought his Eton boys to London, where they acted a play which I suggest was *Thersites*, before Cromwell. For this Udall received £5.

It was not a work of which he could feel proud, so he cast it to the oblivion which had already swallowed a drinking song he had composed during his College days. *Apophth.* 1542, p. 326. Poets and orators sometimes see what they can make of unfavourable subject matter—'So did Homere write the battaill
'betwene the frogges and the myce, Erasmus wrote the praise
'of folyshnesse, an other the praise of baldenesse, an other of
'drounkenhip: and this last argument I hanleed for myne
'exercise beeyng a young studente, albeit the same declaracion now lyeth all woorme eaten as right woorthie it is'.

VI

Udall's allusions to judges and to this drinking song or rhetorical argument praising drunkenness have found him in a reminiscent mood not to be paralleled elsewhere in his works. His long note and couplet rendering of Homer go far to settle the problem of the authorship of *Thersites*. Evidence of subject matter, topography, and diction strengthens my argument.

What first attracted Udall to *Thersites*? He makes other allusions to and couplet translations from Homer, and quite

possibly took his braggart hero direct from the source. Alternatively I suggest that William Horman's *Vulgaria*, pub. 1519 contains a key to this further problem. Horman and Udall were closely associated at Eton in 1533-5, and the latter certainly had studied the *Vulgaria*. On page 31 of the *Vulgaria*, apropos of the afflictions besetting the human body, we find a brief description of Thersites which tallies with Udall's long note, and with the hero of the play. This then may prove the germ, first of *Thersites* and later of *Ralph Roister Doister*.

RALPH CRANE, SCRIVENER TO THE KING'S PLAYERS

By F. P. WILSON

I



WE have been slow to realize the important bibliographical evidence to be gained from a study of the extant manuscripts of Elizabethan and Stuart plays. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries most scholars were content with the evidence to be extracted from printed books. Only within the last few years has it been fully recognized that manuscripts may give us authentic knowledge of the kinds of copy handled by the printer and of the accidents which might happen to it. As we have no dramatic manuscripts used as copy by an Elizabethan or Stuart printer, it is the more important that the extant manuscripts should be used to control bibliographical speculations based upon printed texts. In recent years it has also been abundantly shown that a study of the handwritings in these manuscripts is of great importance as a guide to authorship, and it is perhaps in the identification of handwritings that our advance has been most notable. In the play of *Sir Thomas More* (Harleian MS. 7368) the hands of Anthony Munday and Dekker, possibly even of Shakespeare, have so far been identified, and the MS. has not yet yielded up all its secrets. Within the last year or two Dr. W. W. Greg has found conclusive evidence that two of the manuscripts in Egerton 1994—*The Captives* and *Calisto*—are in the handwriting of Thomas Heywood: and Dr. Greg and Mr. C. J. Sisson have shown that a single person—perhaps the 'book-holder' of the King's Company—is the scribe of Beaumont and Fletcher's *The Honest Man's Fortune* (MS. Dyce 9),

of Beaumont and Fletcher's *Bonduca* (MS. Add. 36758), and of the theatrical additions to Massinger's *Believe as You List* (MS. Egerton 2828). In an important article on 'Prompt Copies, Private Transcripts, and "The Playhouse Scrivener"' (*The Library*, September 1925) Dr. Greg suggests that Fletcher and Massinger's *Sir John van Olden Barnavel* (MS. Add. 18653) and Middleton's *The Witch* (MS. Malone 12) are in the same handwriting. The present article will show that both these plays were 'manuscribed' by Ralph Crane, that Crane is also the scribe of Fletcher's *Demetrius and Enanthe* (in the possession of Lord Harlech) and of two manuscripts of Middleton's *A Game at Chess* (Lansdowne 690 and MS. Malone 25), and that by his own showing he was transcribing plays for the King's players before 1621.¹

II

The most assiduous lover of the by-ways of seventeenth-century literature might well be ignorant of the existence of Crane. His one published book *The Workes Of Mercy* (1621), republished after 1625 as *The Pilgrimes New-yeares-Gift*, is a collection of undistinguished religious verse which can have roused little interest in his own age and has none for ours. But as Crane the scrivener is more interesting than Crane the writer, and is likely to prove more important than has been suspected, it has seemed desirable to supplement the short account of his life given in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. The main sources of our knowledge are the long biographical preface in verse to *The Workes Of Mercy*, the enlarged version of

¹ A sixth MS. may have to be added to this list. Mr. Frank Marcham states in *The King's Office of the Revels 1610-22* (1925, p. 6) that a MS. of *The Beggar's Bush* written about 1620 is 'in a hand somewhat similar to the Bodleian manuscript of Middleton's *Witch*'. This is one of the manuscripts sold from the Lambard Library by Messrs. Hodgson on 19 June 1924 (Lot 528). I have failed to trace the present owner.

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this preface in *The Pilgrimes New-yeares-Gift*, and the dedications to the manuscripts which he presented to his patrons. It is hoped that the discovery of more manuscripts which may lie hidden in private libraries in this country and in America will increase our knowledge of the man and of his work.

Ralph Crane (who always spelt his Christian name 'Raph') was born in London: probably in the fifties or sixties, for by 1621 he was already an old man. Lodge (born c. 1557) hails him as friend, and dedicates *Scillaes Metamorphosis* (1589) to him 'and the rest of his most entire well willers, the Gentlemen of the Innes of Court and Chancerie'. His father was a freeman of the Merchant Tailors' Company, and in this Society 'with good esteeme bore offices of worth'.¹ His education past, 'Sweet Master Crane', as Lodge calls him, 'tride the Aire of diuers noble Counties', and it was perhaps at this period of his life that he became a household servant in the 'Honourable House' of 'the worthy Deseruier of all 'true Honors, and noble Louer of Religion and Learning, Mr^r 'Dorotheie Osborne'.²

*Much variation I haue had since then
With one blest Gift, A Ready Writers Pen.*

First, he was 'painfull Clarke' for seven years to Sir Anthony Ashley, Clerk of the Privy Council from 1588 and perhaps earlier. This post enabled him to mark the goodness and the nobility of the peers.

*That (haplesse) thence I slipt, (wanting firme hold)
I only sigh the fate, but leau't vtold.*

Next to the Signet Office and the Privy Seal, where he served

¹ If his father was the John Crane twice mentioned in C. M. Clode's *Memorials*, pp. 217 and 544, it does not appear that he was held in so good esteem as his son would lead us to think. He was committed to ward in 1568 for keeping a 'foreigner', and in 1608 the Company was still in possession of gilt plate 'pawned and forfeited' by him many years past.

² Presumably the grandmother of the famous letter-writer.

as an 'under-writer' during the Clerkship of Lewin Munck. In 1621 he still possessed 'some gentlenesse from thence' to lessen his sorrows. Crane's pen also did service to the 'Tribe of Levi' and 'writ their Oracles', but above all his laborious hand was employed by 'the renown'd and learned Lawyers'. He proceeds (*The Workes Of Mercy*, sig. A 6):

And some employment hath my vsefull Pen
Had 'mongst those ciuill, well-deseruing men,
That grace the Stage with *honour* and *delight*,
Of whose true honesties I much could write,
But will comprise't (as in a Caske of Gold)
Vnder the *Kingly Seruice* they doe hold.

So ends the history of his life's 'sad Pilgrimage' up to 1621, the evening of his age.¹ It is a mark of his poverty and of his skilful mendicancy that *The Workes Of Mercy* has at least three dedications and as many patrons: Dorothy Osborne (Bodleian copy, Art. 8°. D. 15), John, Earl of Bridgewater (Thorpe's Sale Catalogue, 1834, part III, no. 690—perhaps the Britwell copy sold at Sotheby's on 7 February 1922), and his old chief Lewin Munck, Esquire, of Babraham in Cambridgeshire (a copy formerly in the possession of William Cole of Milton, cited by Hunter, *Chorus Vatum*, Add. MS. 24488, fo. 159). But he does not follow the practice of those 'Falconers' satirized in Dekker's *Lanthorne and Candle-light*, whose epistles dedicatory varied in nothing but in the titles of their patrons. For each patron he writes an appropriate epistle.²

It was perhaps in 1622 that Crane transcribed 'A Song in

¹ The name is so common that we cannot be sure he was (1) the Ralph Crane to whom was granted on 10 March 1609 the benefit of the recusancy of Bridget Morgan of Heyford, Northamptonshire (*Cal. S. P. Dom.*, 1603-10, p. 497), or (2) the Ralph Crane whose son Ralph was baptized at St. Martin's-in-the-Fields on 14 June 1611.

² The one copy of *The Pilgrimes New-yeares-Gift* which I have seen (British Museum, C. 37 d. 7) has no dedication, but it is clear from the preface that one or more were intended.

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seuerall parts' by Thomas Middleton, which was performed at a feast given by the Lord Mayor, Edward Barkham, to his brethren the aldermen and other guests in the Easter holidays of this year. The manuscript of this 'Invention' is now in the Public Record Office (*State Papers, Domestic*, vol. 129, doc. 53). Middleton thought well of Crane's penmanship, for he employed him to transcribe two of his plays.¹

Crane saw the horrors of the great London plague of 1625 and escaped the infection. But he was not exempted from

Her Markes of Penury, Expence, and Woes
Of Debts, engagements, all heart-breaking throes;
But that I still about me beare the signe.

At this crisis in his fortunes he began making 'private transcripts' of poems and plays for presentation to his patrons, several of which survive to attest the industry of his pen and the beauty of his calligraphy. The first dated manuscript of his now known is his transcript of Fletcher's *Demetrius and Enanthe*, dedicated on 27 December 1625 to Sir 'Kelham' Digby (Plate I). An account of his transcripts of plays will be given below. Of his non-dramatic manuscripts three are in the British Museum, two in the Bodleian, and one in the Huntington Library.² These six manuscripts, five of which have dedications, are our sole authority for the last years of his life.

¹ It is curious that in the Stationers' Register (14 December 1620) *The Workes Of Mercy* is entered as the work of T. M. Whoever may be the author of the poems—and they do not read like Middleton's work—Crane is certainly the author of the autobiographical preface.

² A MS. which I have not seen, formerly in Corser's Library and described by him at some length in *Collectanea Anglo-Poetica*, iii. 231–6, may be by Crane. It contains a religious poem—'The Most Auntient Historie of God and Man'—by R. C., finished on 29 July 1629. Is this the '*deuine Argument*' which Crane had 'vpon the Anvile' in 1625 (see Plate I)? The author appears to have prepared the poem for publication, but a sacred poem of some 12,000 indifferent lines would not readily meet with a publisher. At the Huth Sale in June 1912 this manuscript was sold for ten shillings.

They are now described in rough chronological order. It will be seen that his taste, or that of his patrons, is for moral and sacred verse, and that the work of many writers is represented.

MS. Rawl. poet. 61 is one of the largest of these transcripts. It contains: (1) 'Meditations' upon Job xvii. 1 and 13 (22 pages) by William Austin, the barrister of Lincoln's Inn whose works were printed posthumously in 1635. (2) 'Certaine selected Psalmes of Daud (in Verse)' (109 pages) by Francis and Christopher Davison, Joseph Bryan, Richard Gipps, and Thomas Carey,¹ most if not all of them members of the Inns of Court. (3) William Austin's 'Certaine deuine Hymnes, or Carrolls for Christmas-daie Togeather with diuers deuout and zealous Meditations vpon our Sauours Passion' (36 pages). This is dated 23 October 1626 and is dedicated to Crane's friend, John Peirs. (4) 'A Sumarie; and true Distinction, betweene the Lawe, & y^e Ghospel' (8 pages) by Crane himself. (5) 'Londons Lamentable Estate, in any great Visitation,' a poem of 206 lines (11 pages) on the plague of 1625 by 'Ph. M.' which appears to have escaped the attention of writers upon Massinger.

Two of Crane's transcripts are made up entirely of Austin's poems. One, formerly in the Heber Library and now in the British Museum (Add. MS. 34752), is dedicated to Lord Baltimore. This MS. is undated, but must have been written after 1624, when George Calvert was raised to the peerage, and before 1632, the year of his death. In the dedication Crane states that Austin's poems came to him 'by a bless'd Holy chance' and that this book may be 'his last Oblation ere he die'. The other (MS. Rawl. D. 301) is dated May 1628 and is dedicated to Lady Anne Cooper, wife of Sir John Cooper and sole daughter and heir to his old master Sir Anthony Ashley, who had died in the previous January. 'He

¹ A namesake of the author of 'Ask me no more where Iove bestows'.

'was my *Master*, and though my outward Garment speaks not
'his death, yet my in-ward Loue sighes his departure. . . . And
'had not too-too many Disasters too-too much weakend my
'Habilities, a more expressiue and appropriated *Epitaph* had
'attended his Hearse.'

'The Faultie Faurite', now in the Huntington Library,¹ is a 'Theologicall, Vsefull, & Applicable Exposition' in prose upon 2 Kings vii. 2. Crane claims nothing therein but the manuscript, but does not give the name of the author. The dedication to John, Earl of Bridgewater is dated January 1631. Crane mentions this manuscript as an annual tribute, his 'yeerely Destinate to some Corner' of the Earl's Library. The calligraphy supports his claim that his pen 'is not yet so much decaied, as my Age (to my Ruine) makes Men beleue'.²

Harl. 6930, which now contains no dedicatory epistle, has most of the psalms in MS. Rawl. poet. 61: and the contents of Harl. 3357 agree with those of MS. Rawl. poet. 61 with the omission of Crane's work and Ph. M.'s and the inclusion of Randolph's 'A diuine Pastorall Eglogue' (ff. 88-91). Harl. 3357 has a dedication to Sir Francis Ashley, brother of Sir Anthony, in which Crane refers to the rarity of the poetical dish he has prepared, 'there not being three such any where
'extant; and not One (vnles surreptitiously gotten) but of my
'Pen'. Ashley is asked to consider this book '(for Age, Affliction, Greif and Want tell Me, it will be so) the Vltimum Vale, of Him that hono^rs. your Name'. This MS. is dated December 1632, and Crane's struggles with want and the patron must soon have ended. Did he escape the worst enemy of all, the jail? His will is not preserved at Somerset House, and

¹ I am indebted to Mr. R. B. Haselden, Keeper of the Manuscripts in the Huntington Library, for sending me particulars of this MS. and of the Huntington MS. of *A Game at Chess* and for presenting me with photostats of parts of each of these MSS.

² He complains again in *The Pilgrimes New-yeares-Gift* that he is too old to get work: 'now young ones raigne'.

To the Honorable
Sir
K. Ham. Digbie
Knight.

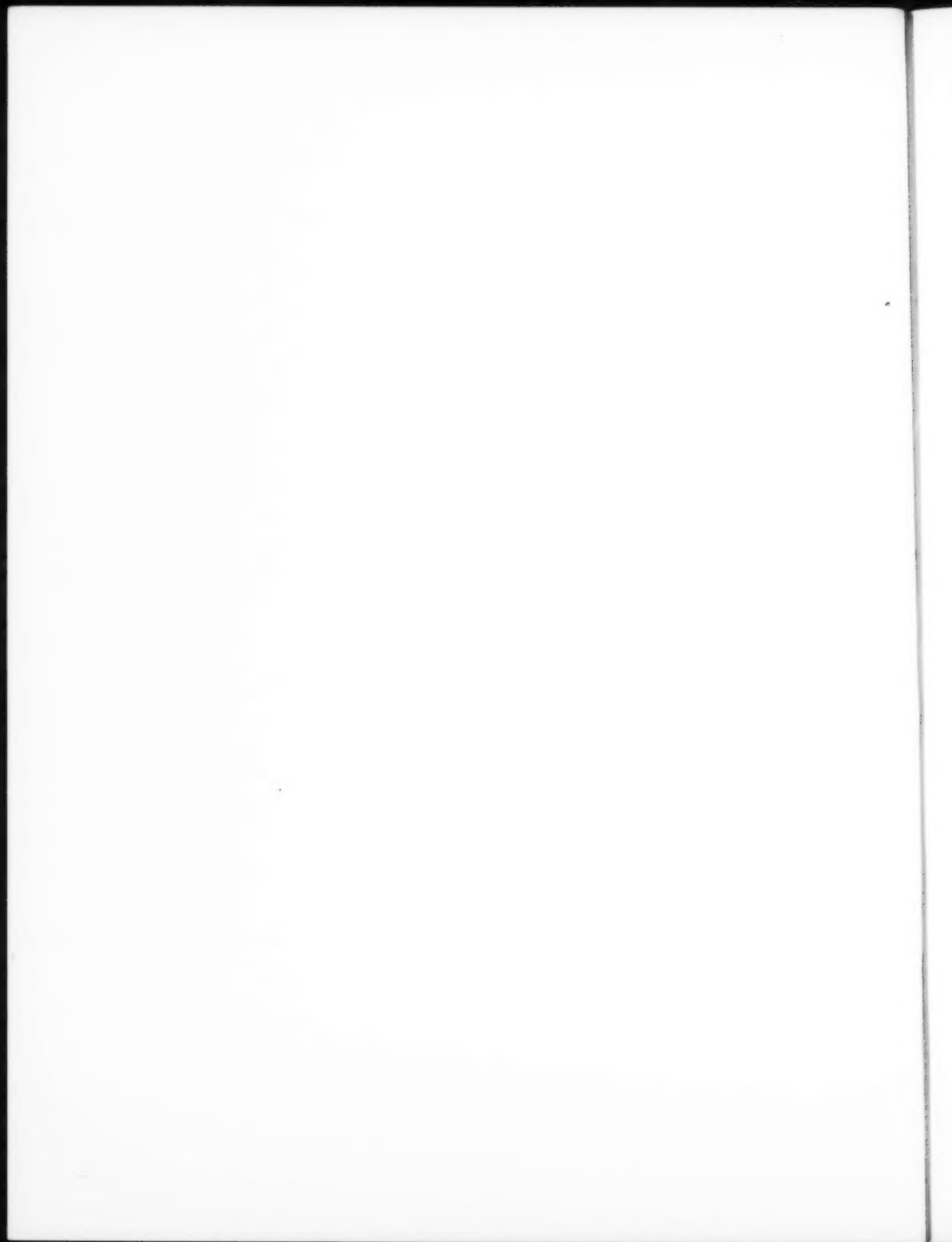
Worthy Sir.

I know that to a Man of so religious Inclination,
a Acute Argument, would have been much more
wellcom: And such a one (good Sir) I have
upon my Duety for you, but it requires some what
a more Consolatorie time to fashion it: But
therefore by the Wise-mans rule (That saies there
is a time for all things) encourage, I hope it will
not be much ~~more~~ inopportune, after a Season
so late, to present you with a Matter Recreative.
Well knowing, that you that know well how to
bestow all your hours, will (in your release from
higher Studies) not think a little piece of time
lost, in casting upon this Comedie, your Smile, and
upon him, that (in all duty) submits it to your gene-
rous Acceptance, your Noble Faus, as upon one
that still shal desire to be approved.

Novemb. 27.
1624

Your Commaunded Obedient man

Raph. Crane.



but still remember, if your fooling, wit me
make me forget to Trust.

Ed. I have done: Harvill (Sir)

will look back, you shall not stay; not a minute:

Dem. I must leave our Harvill now.

Ed. now, my friends beate:

I dare not start your sound: not a sound more:

ouch, 'tis done: The birds preserve, and save ye. — {Exeunt
Sincerely }

Actus Secundus

Scē^a pri^a } Enter Antigonus: Carintus: &
Timon.

Ant. What? have ye found her out?

Car. We have her kind after her:

Ant. What? that to my desire?

Car. Your Grace must give us

Time, and a little more.

Tim. She is sure a Stranger:

if she were bred, or knowne before:

Ant. you dull riddancers

should never be employ'd: you are you certain?

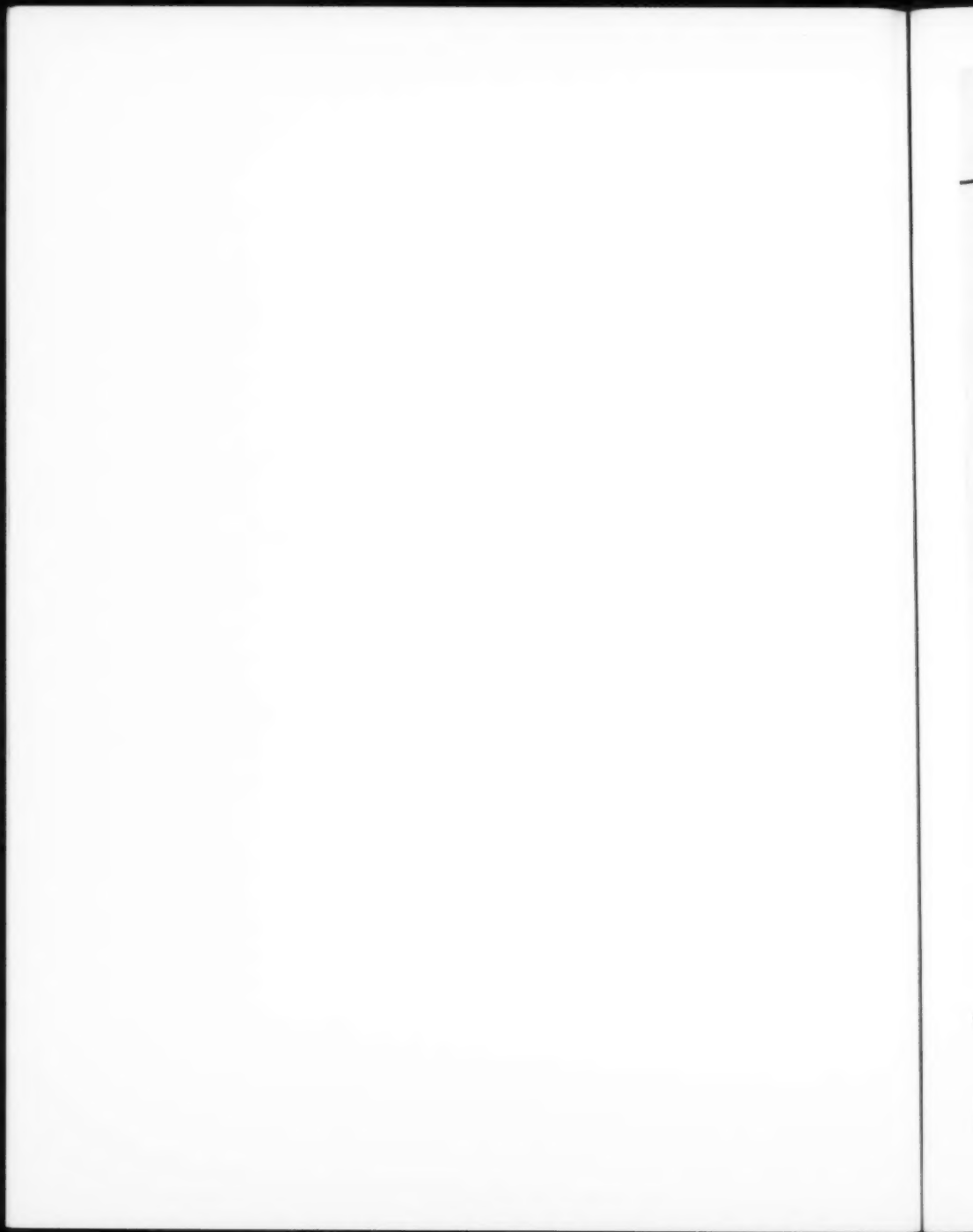
It is a Stranger.

Tim. being so young, and handsome,

and not made priue to your Graces pleasures

for I presume to see your gracious fauor

you



The witch

19.

Her in good fustion

Ac. let me but see to it, and she sup wth you - she Coniure: And

The Cate and Fiddle: in presence of the Maid *Enter a Cate (playing on a Fiddle) and*

You God a Devil and, in a Hex. - *Spirits (wth Music)*

Her. Oh! Heave Him still: come walk wth me Sir. - *Ex*

These spirits left, and ready is a Drummer, now to Rattle to the
Devil: well He even so, and see you go darts, and
He be edward if He be not the father of the Indian
with laughing at you. - *Exit* *Finis Actus 1^o*

Actus Secundus.

Sec^a pri^a Enter Antonio & Gasparo.

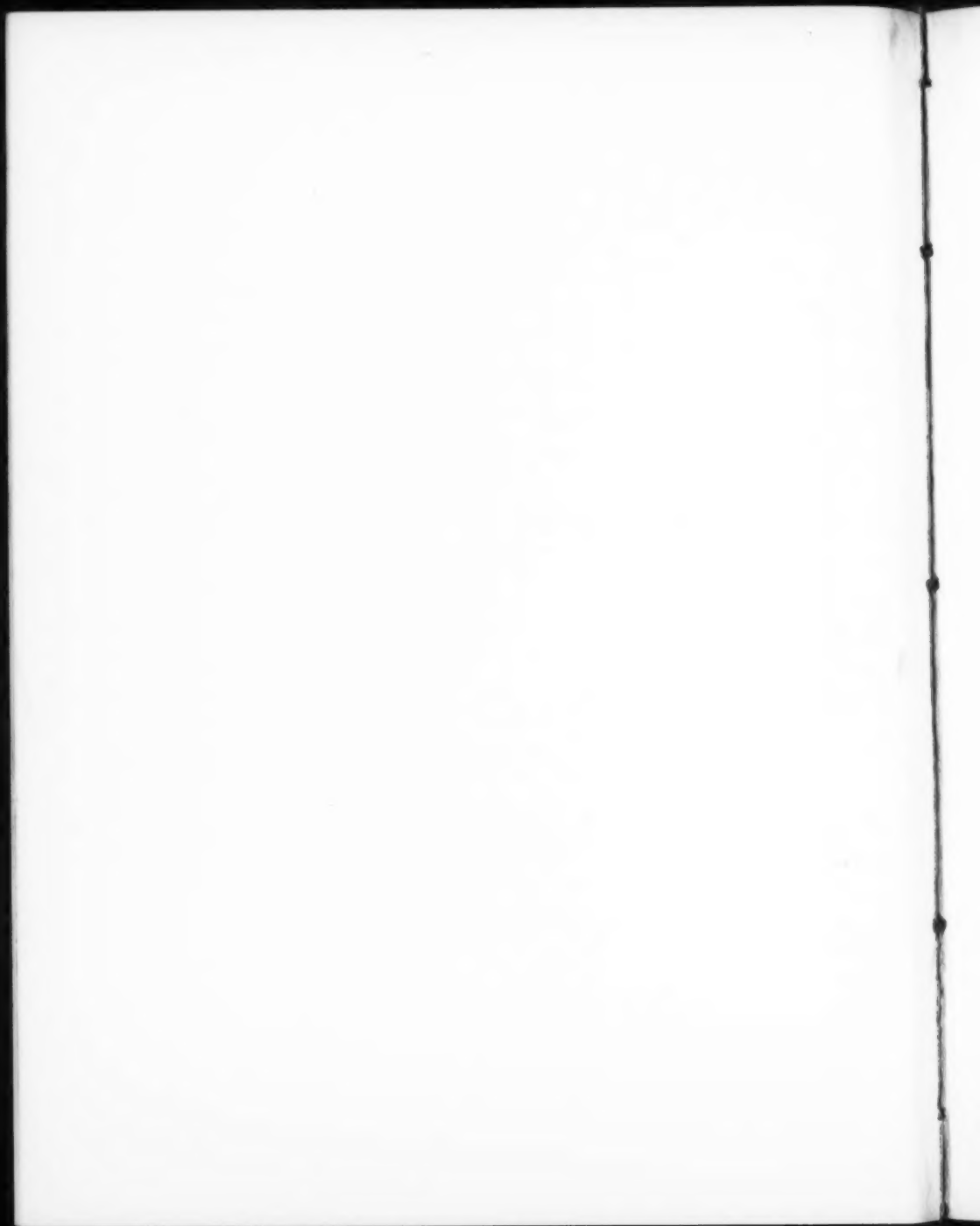
Gas. Good Sir, welcome Springs to your Gadabouts: trust me Sir,
you look not like a Man who was Married yesterday:
your countenance no ill Tidings sent last night
to cause that discontent: I was wont to know all
before you had a Wife (and) you were found me
without those parts of Mankind. (Teufel, & Sandrine)

An. I will not tell the tale

Gas. not your true Servant (Sir.)

An. True: you'll all serve according to your Talents

the



Actus Secundus.

Sec.^a pri.^a Enter Jⁿ Witt- Outney-Larne (reading) & to
him, the Black Bishop's Larne.

And here agen: It is the Daughters dutie
to obaid her Confessors Command, in all things,
without Exception or Expostulation.

It is the most generall Rule, that we read of,
that when a young person cometh to Virtue is,
Godnes and Grace, its gently recommended.

And when it appeares well, to be a true ydne
of the Dispensio, as Virginitas probat.

Al.³ This good point: 'twas the most modest boy
that I could find, to open my Intents.

What else, or no pains good to find in Expt.

What great pain we here: a small Note, we have find.

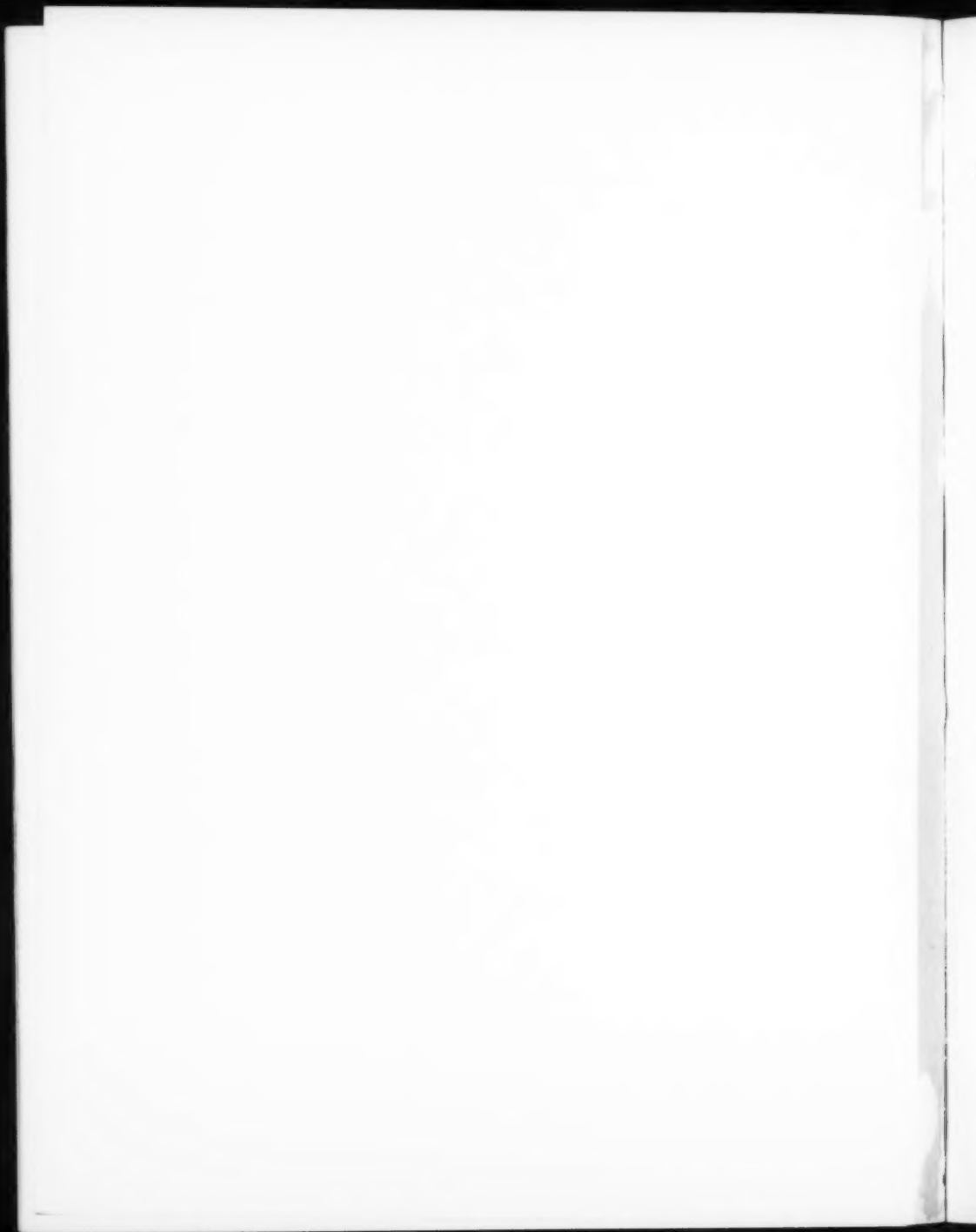
To the Black Bishop's Larne This: Com. to me.

Strange: Who Subscribes it the Black-King: what would he.

Larne sufficient hold, but Unmeasurable Solitude.

We had late Intelligence from our most
industrious Servant (famous in all Parts of Europe)

our Knight of the Black-Cross, That you have at this
instant



Actus Secundus.

See. prima.

The white - Queens Pawn (moving) To Black
B's Pawn. Then y Black Queens - Pawn.
Then y Black - Bishop, & Black - King K.

W. E. C. And yet again: It is the Daughter's Duty
to Obey her Parents Command in all Things
without Exception, or Excusation.

His God, most gentle Lord, & Father of the World
He, who in His Word conveys His Virtue is
Goodness, and Grace, 'tis gently reconciled
And yet it appears well to have the Power
of His Disposal as Virtuous will.

Bl. E. C. It is past God's general Rule, God's large Extent
of our Description, for Obedience,
And yet, my dear & dear Sir, of Doubt
For He moves on God's Earth

W. E. C. Oh Sir
too long I have missed you: oh, your absence has been
Easier for Time's redemption (worth Sir) for



it is improbable that he found it necessary to make one. No juster epitaph upon this unfortunate man could be found than that which he writes for himself in *The Pilgrimes New-yeares-Gift*:

Through City, Countrie, Court, Church, law & stage
I haue pass'd thorough in my *Pilgrimage*,
Yet here I stand *Fortunes Anatomie*,
A spectacle of *Times Inconstancy*.

III

If Crane had been employed only by the Court, the Church, and the Law, it would not be necessary to exempt him from oblivion. But his statement that his 'useful pen' found 'some employment' among the King's Players raised the hope that at last it might be possible to give a name to one of those hitherto elusive persons, the 'playhouse scriveners'. A comparison of *The Witch* (MS. Malone 12) with Crane's poetical manuscripts led to the belief that they were by a single hand, but to be certain it was necessary to get a sight of his one signed dramatic manuscript. My grateful acknowledgements are due to Lord Harlech, the owner of *Demetrius and Enanthe*, for depositing the MS. in the Bodleian, so that I might consult it at my leisure, and for granting permission to reproduce facsimiles of the dedication and of a page of the text (Plates I and II). Bodley's Librarian has kindly allowed me to give illustrations from *The Witch* (Plate III) and *A Game at Chess* (MS. Malone 25—Plate V), and from a MS. of *A Game at Chess* in the British Museum (Lansdowne 690) I am able to show a page of yet another of Crane's dramatic transcripts (Plate IV). For facsimiles of folio 27 and of the upper half of folio 1 of *Barnavelt* (MS. Add. 18653) the reader is referred to Miss W. P. Frijlinck's edition of this play, published in this country by the Oxford University Press. A portion of folio 4b (with a margi-

nal note by Buc) is reproduced in *English Literary Autographs 1550-1650* (ed. W. W. Greg), Plate xxx (c).

The editor of *The Library* has been so generous in his allowance of facsimiles that it is hardly necessary to describe and to compare the handwriting in these MSS. The evidence is before the reader. To bring out more clearly the striking similarity between the italic letters I have chosen to reproduce the pages containing the words 'Actus Secundus', but indeed the general impression given by any page that these MSS. are in a single hand is overwhelming and is sustained by a detailed analysis. Attention may be called to the remarkable italic 'd'. The long flourish above the loop is formed with a separate stroke of the pen. It will be seen that the last two letters of 'Actus' are made in exactly the same way. The 'E' of 'Enter' in *The Witch*, *Barnavelt*, and Lansdowne 690 is not to be found in the scene-divisions of *Demetrius and Enanthe* and MS. Malone 25, but it is used elsewhere in these MSS. The secretary hands are of the same formal type, and contain the same variant forms and the same intermixture of italic letters. See for example the two kinds of capital 'S' (e.g. Plate III, l. 12), of 'd' (Plate II, l. 8), and of 'a' (ibid., l. 17). The secretary hand in *Barnavelt* is less calligraphic, but there is no doubt that it is Crane's.

Barnavelt is in folio, as are all extant playhouse MSS. of this period. The four other MSS. which we are to consider are in quarto: these are private transcripts written throughout in Crane's hand (except the dedicatory leaf in MS. Malone 25) and without erasures.¹ The page-measurements are as follows: *Barnavelt* (57 pages of text), 11 $\frac{1}{2}$ by 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ inches; *Demetrius and Enanthe* (128 pages), 7 $\frac{3}{8}$ by 5 $\frac{1}{8}$; *The Witch* (97 pages), 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ by 5 $\frac{1}{2}$; *A Game at Chess*, Lansdowne 690 (102 pages), 7 $\frac{1}{8}$ by 5 $\frac{1}{2}$; *A Game at Chess*, MS. Malone 25 (75 pages), 7 $\frac{1}{4}$ by 5 $\frac{1}{4}$.

¹ A private transcript might, however, be in folio, as for example *Bonduca* (Add. MS. 36758).

Barnavelt has about fifty-five lines, the private transcripts from about twenty-four lines to twenty-seven lines, to the full page.

THE TRAGEDY OF SIR JOHN VAN OLDEN BARNAVELT. As *Barnavelt* is the only one of these MSS. that is a prompt copy, it is not surprising that the hand is here less calligraphic. The date of composition can be assigned with confidence to July and August 1619 and the date of performance to August (Frijlinck, xix). Internal evidence shows it to have been written for the King's players by Fletcher and Massinger. *Barnavelt* is therefore one of those King's plays, perhaps the only one now extant, upon which Crane claims to have employed his useful pen before 1621. Those who maintain that a playhouse copy at this period was usually in the author's autograph may still abide by their opinion, for an exception must clearly be made for plays of multiple authorship. Crane no doubt was presented with the authors' 'foul papers', and told to make a fair copy. Anthony Munday had done the same office twenty years or so before in that part of *Sir Thomas More* which is in his handwriting. It is worth noting that Crane boasts of being employed by the King's players, not by the dramatists employed by the King's players. There is good evidence that dramatists sent in autograph MSS. to their playhouse. The services of a scribe were called in later, if required, by the playhouse. Heminge and Condell say of Shakespeare: 'His mind and hand went together: And what he thought, he vttered with that easinesse, that wee haue scarce receiued from him a blot in his papers.' Heminge and Condell are speaking here for the King's players. Mr. A. W. Pollard has shown how reasonable it is to take them at their word and believe that Shakespeare's Company received from him his autograph manuscripts.

Three distinct hands are to be found in *Barnavelt*: (1) The text of the play is in Crane's handwriting. (2) A member of the company, perhaps the stage-manager, has written marginal

reminders to get ready various properties (a bell, pen and ink, a table, a scaffold, &c); and to the stage-directions marking the entrance of minor characters he has added the names or initials of the actors who played them. (3) Sir George Buc, Master of the Revels, has written a warning note on f. 4b; where the offence lay only in a word or phrase he has here and there substituted a more politic reading (e. g. at l. 2436 in Miss Frijlinck's edition);¹ and he has marked for cancellation several passages which he found offensive to the state or to morality (see especially ff. 7b, 22b, 23a, 24a). When we see how slight is the reason for some of Buc's objections, we begin to wonder how much of him lies embedded in Shakespeare and still more how much of Shakespeare was scored out by his active pen. Was he, for example, in part responsible for the drastic cutting of *Macbeth*? A play which presented the murder of a Scottish king might well make the Revels Office nervous. This creative censor may again be seen at work in one or two lines of *The Second Maiden's Tragedy*.

It was possible to omit some of the passages cancelled by Buc without affecting the sense, but others it was necessary to rewrite. Three lines written vertically in the right margin replace six cancelled lines on f. 7b, a short leaf written on one side only replaces the original eighth leaf, and five lines, also written down the page and themselves afterwards cancelled, replace thirty-nine lines on ff. 23a and 23b.² It is interesting that all these substitutions appear to be in Crane's handwriting.

¹ At l. 2436 the words 'cutt of his opposites', which replace 'tooke that course that now is practisd on you', are in Buc's handwriting. Of the other interlineations in this MS. (e. g. at ll. 36, 51, 206, 281, 587, 588, 803, 804, 2445) some may be in Buc's handwriting, some in Crane's, some in another hand or hands.

² The MS. has two other short leaves inserted between ff. 14 and 15 and ff. 27 and 28, written on the recto only, the one with 20 lines, the other with 32 lines. These are not due to the censor's alterations, but to an afterthought of the author or a mistake of the transcriber.

From *The Workes Of Mercy* we get the impression that he was not a regular employee of the King's players, but rather a casual labourer whose services as a professional scrivener were called in when occasion demanded. To call him a stage-manager or the Company's 'book-keeper' would certainly be to go beyond the evidence. But it is clear from *Barnavelt* that he was in close touch with the players and was asked to make alterations which are often quite slight and which sometimes, as for example in the substitution of 'Grotius' for 'Vandermitten' at the heading of Act I, Scene I, and elsewhere, seem to be dictated by the actors rather than the censor.

DEMETRIUS AND ENANTHE. The MS. of *Demetrius and Enanthe* was first printed by Dyce in 1830,¹ and independent collations are given in the Cambridge *Beaumont and Fletcher*. We still await an accurate transcript. In the Folio of 1647 the play is called *The Humorous Lieutenant*, but the title in the MS. is as much to be preferred to that in the Folio as *Benedick and Beatrice* might be to *The Humorous Constable*. Dyce prints in italics the many lines in the MS. that are lacking in the Folio. 'By whom they were originally omitted,—whether by the players or the editors—it is in vain to inquire. If by a strange and happy chance we were to discover Shakespeare's own manuscript copies of some of his finest pieces, we should perhaps find that similar "sins of omission" were to be charged on the persons who first consigned those dramas to the press.' Nowadays we should be inclined to acquit the editors and to bring our indictment against the actors, the Revels Office, and occasionally the dramatist himself. And our view is in part corroborated by the testimony of the stationer, Humphrey Moseley, in his epistle to the Readers of the First Folio of

¹ It was then in the possession of Wm. W. E. Wynne, Esquire, of Peniarth, whose family was connected with that of Digby. In 1837 it was given to W. Ormsby Gore, Esquire, the grandfather of Lord Harlech. See a note on a preliminary leaf, printed in the Cambridge *Beaumont and Fletcher*, ii. 508.

Beaumont and Fletcher. 'When these *Comedies and Tragedies* were presented on the Stage, the Actours omitted some *Scenes* and Passages (with the *Authour's* consent) as occasion led them; and when private friends desir'd a Copy, they then (and justly too) transcribed what they *Acted*.' But when Moseley adds: 'But now you have both All that was *Acted*, and all that was not; even the perfect full Originalls without the least mutilation', we know that in at least one instance he is claiming too much.

It is instructive to note that rather more than a dozen broken lines in the Folio text can be patched up from the MS., and that the Folio, which contains some lines not in the MS., completes some half-dozen lines that are broken in the MS. There are scores of verbal differences throughout. For example, the MS. rejects such oaths as 'Lord', 'Death', 'What a Devil', 'plague take him', 'God ha' mercy', and even 'I protest' and 'by this hand', though it admits such expressions as 'Faith', 'by heaven', 'for heaven-sake', perhaps on the ground that these are asseverations, not oaths (*pace* Sir Henry Herbert).¹ Crane may have been transcribing from a MS. in which the oaths were curtailed in accordance with 3 Jac. I, c. 21. Or he may have made these changes himself to suit his own taste or the 'religious Inclination' of Sir Kenelm Digby.

Demetrius and Enanthe is an unusually interesting example of a private transcript because it is dated. Dr. Greg in the article already cited suggests that 'until the study of dramatic manuscripts has reached a more advanced position than at present, it would be exceedingly rash to assume that [the

¹ Cf. Herbert's Office-Book, 9 January 1633 (Variorum Shakespeare, 1821, iii. 235); 'The kinge is pleas'd to take *faith, death, slight*, for asseverations, and no oaths, to which I doe humbly submit as my masters judgment; but under favour conceive them to be oaths, and enter them here, to declare my opinion and submission.'

'practice of selling transcripts of plays to private amateurs] 'obtained before about 1630'. The date 'about 1630' which Dr. Greg was so rightly cautious in suggesting may now be pushed back to 'about 1625'.

This transcript raises another interesting point. *Demetrius and Enanthe* is one of Fletcher's liveliest comedies. It has all the ingredients of a popular success—love and battle, farce and the supernatural, an inflated hero and a sprightly heroine. Pepys indeed at his second visit thought it a silly play, but his contemporaries disagreed with him. 'After the Restoration *The Humorous Lieutenant* enjoyed much popularity: it was the 'first play that was acted, and that for twelve nights successively, 'at the opening of the theatre in Drury Lane, April 8, 1663. 'Langbaine says that he had "often seen it acted with applause".'¹ There is no reason to suppose that it did not meet with the like success before the Restoration. That there should exist private transcripts of *The Witch* which nobody wanted to act and of *A Game at Chess* which nobody was allowed to act is not surprising. But it is curious that so notable a get-penny as *Demetrius and Enanthe* should have been allowed to stray outside the playhouse, and should have existed in a private transcript twenty-two years before it got into print. It looks as if the King's players no longer needed to hoard their MSS. jealously as in the old bad days of piracy. Since 1607 most plays were licensed for publication by the Master of the Revels, and the influence of the King's men with the Revels, with the Stationers' Company, and if the necessity arose with the Lord Chamberlain, was sufficient to prevent all but the most unscrupulous publishers from publishing their plays without permission.

This MS. is perhaps the most beautiful example of Crane's calligraphy that we have. In 128 pages of text there is hardly

¹ R. Warwick Bond in the *Variorum Beaumont and Fletcher*, ii. 460. Cf. also Dryden's *Essays* (ed. W. P. Ker), i. 166.

an erasure, and the pen never falters. Moseley tells us that when Gentlemen desired but a copy of any of Beaumont and Fletcher's plays, the meanest piece cost them more than four times the price of his Folio. Crane deserved this and more for his pains.

THE WITCH. *The Witch* is perhaps the worst of Middleton's plays, but it has long been famous for its Shakespearian interest. MS. Malone 12¹ is the only authority for the text, yet no attempt has been made to print the MS. as it stands since Isaac Reed's *editio princeps* of 1778. Neither the play nor the transcript can be dated exactly. The transcript was ordered from Crane by the author himself, and contains Middleton's dedicatory epistle: 'To the truely-worthie and generously-affected *Thomas Holmes, Esquier*'. It was at Holmes's desire that 'This (ignorantly-ill-fated) Labour' was dragged from the 'imprisond-Obscuritie' in which she had long lain, and it was 'not without much difficultie' that the author recovered the play into his hands. The title informs us that the play was 'long since Acted by his Ma^{ties}. Seruants at the Black-Friers'. As the King's men began to act at the Blackfriars in 1609, the transcript may have been made at any time between about 1620 and the year of Middleton's death, 1627.

A GAME AT CHESS. This play was acted at the Globe for nine days in August 1624 before crowded audiences, but its political and personal allusions brought the actors and the Master of the Revels into conflict with the Privy Council, the play was banned, and the playhouse copy confiscated.² The following note in Malone's handwriting is prefixed to one

¹ 'Bought at the sale of Mr. Steevens's books, May 20th. 1800, at the enormous price of £7 10. 0. E.M.' A note by Steevens states that the MS. was in the collection of Benjamin Griffin, the actor, and passed into the hands of Lockyer Davis, bookseller in Holborn, who sold it to Major Pearson. Steevens bought it at the Major's auction for £2 14s. One hundred copies were printed off by Reed as presents to his friends.

² Cf. Middleton's *Works* (ed. Bullen), I. lxxix-lxxx.

of his editions of this play (now Malone 247): "A new play 'called *A Game at Chesse*, written by Middleton," was licensed 'by Sir Henry Herbert, June 12. 1624. So his Office-Book MS.' This extract from Herbert's Office-Book, hitherto unprinted, is not repeated in the Variorum *Shakespeare* of 1821 and is not included in J. Quincy Adams's edition of Herbert's *Dramatic Records*. It is clear that Fleay is wrong in identifying this play with the unlicensed *The Spanish Viceroy* (*A Chronicle History of the London Stage*, p. 268), but it is not so clear whose backing induced the cautious Herbert to license so fierce and obvious an attack upon Spain and Gondomar. It is a measure of the excitement which the play aroused that at least four printed editions are extant and at least four manuscripts.¹

In *Demetrius and Enanthe* we have a transcript presented to his patron by a professional scrivener hopeful of being rewarded for his pains. *The Witch* and the Malone MS. of *A Game at Chess* are transcripts ordered by the author himself and presented by him to his admirers. In the British Museum MS. of *A Game at Chess*, which now contains no dedication, we have perhaps a transcript, like those mentioned by Moseley, ordered by a private amateur for his own pleasure. The title of Lansdowne 690, which is surrounded with corkscrew scrolls in ink like those on the title-pages of *Demetrius and Enanthe* and MS. Malone 25, reads as follows: '1624. | A Game att Chesse | By Tho. Middleton'. The date is that of composition and first performance, not necessarily of transcription as Bullen supposed. A note in Douce's handwriting on a preliminary blank leaf states that this MS. 'is far more correct than the printed copies'. Collations of some (but not all) of the variant readings are given by Dyce and Bullen.

¹ A third is at Trinity College, Cambridge, a fourth (formerly in the Bridgewater Library) is in the Huntington Library. The Huntington MS. is in two different hands, neither of them Crane's. One of these hands is that of the scribe of the Trinity MS.: Mr. R. C. Bald identifies it with Middleton's.

The Bodleian MS. of *A Game at Chess* (MS. Malone 25) has not been consulted by any editor of Middleton. Bullen, who knew of the existence of this MS., hunted high and low for it, but in 1887 was unable to discover the possessor of it. It was sold by C. J. Stewart, the London bookseller, about 1860-70, perhaps to the Bodleian.¹ I am indebted to Mr. R. C. Bald, Clare College, Cambridge, for calling my attention to this MS. It is good news that he is preparing a full account of the manuscripts and printed texts of this interesting play.

Middleton's dedication to Thomas Holmes in *The Witch* is in Crane's handwriting. As the dedication in MS. Malone 25 is the only page of this MS. not in Crane's hand, the presumption is that it is autograph.

To the Worthilie-Accomplish'd, Mr: William Hammond.

This, which nor Stage nor Stationers Stall can showe,
(The Common Eye maye wish for, but ner'e knowe)
Comes in it's best Loue with the New-yeare forth,
As a fit Present to the Hand of Worth.

A Seruant to youre

Vertues,

T. M.²

The suggestion that we have in William Hammond the 'W. H.' of Shakespeare's sonnets is the catchpenny puff of

¹ Cf. *A Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts*, no. 30623. The press-mark is misleading, for the MS. was never in Malone's Library. Malone's own MSS. stop at MS. Malone 24. On a preliminary leaf is the signature 'John Pepys', probably the brother of the Lord Chief Justice, Richard Pepys. For some evidence of John Pepys's misspent youth see Tanner MS. 167, fos. 72-3 — 'Articles ministred in Causes ecclesiasticall against John Pepes now or late of Cetenham in the County of Cambridge Gent' about the year 1630.

² It is interesting that Middleton signs with his initials. Fleay argues that *The Blacke Booke* and *Father Hubburds Tales* are not Middleton's because their dedicatory epistles are signed 'T. M.' But apart from this dedication, there is plenty of evidence to disprove Fleay's statement that Middleton 'always put his name in full to all publications authorized by himself' (*A Biographical Chronicle*, ii. 89).

C. J. Stewart.¹ There are several printed editions of this play, one dated 1625, the others undated. The dedication implies that the play was still unprinted, so that the New Year must be that of 1625. After this year Middleton could have presented Hammond with a printed copy.

Stewart's claim that MS. Malone 25 is 'the original draught of the work' cannot be maintained. It is a shortened version of the play given in the printed editions and in the other MSS. On a rough calculation some 760 lines or parts of lines are omitted from the text given in Bullen's edition.² The abridgement betrays by its broken and hypermetrical lines that it is later than the fuller version.

IV

A brief description has been given of each of Crane's dramatic manuscripts. It is proposed now to consider some general characteristics of his work.

1. A publisher who came by one of Crane's transcripts might reasonably expect from the printer an accurate text, free from literal errors, unless indeed it be argued that the best manuscript is always handed to the worst compositor.

2. All Crane's transcripts are carefully divided into acts and scenes. Act-divisions are common in the printed and MS. plays of this period, and have been attributed to the musical intervals observed between the acts at the private theatres. But full divisions into both acts and scenes are perhaps not common in the manuscripts of King's plays at this time. *The Honest Man's Fortune* and *Bonduca*, both in the hand of a contemporary scribe

¹ See a cutting from Stewart's printed advertisement bound up in MS. Malone 25.

² Some 71 lines are omitted from Act I, 290 from Act II, 212 from Act III, 107 from Act IV, and 80 from Act V. The Induction and Epilogue are given in full; the Prologue is omitted. Bullen is in error in stating that the Prologue is omitted in Lansdowne 690.

who also worked for the King's players (see above, pp. 194-5), are divided into acts but not into scenes, and the full divisions which Massinger has marked in *Believe as You List* are deleted by the same scribe. Since the publication of Mr. Pollard's *Shakespeare Folios and Quartos* (1909) it has been well known that the following plays in the First Folio of Shakespeare are divided into acts and scenes: the first four comedies (*The Tempest*, *The Two Gentlemen*, *The Merry Wives*, *Measure for Measure*), *As You Like It*, and the two last comedies (*Twelfth-Night*, *The Winter's Tale*); all the history plays except *Henry V* and *Henry VI*; and four of the last six tragedies (*Macbeth*, *King Lear*, *Othello*, *Cymbeline*). It has been usual to suppose that these full divisions are due to the care of the editors who prepared the Folio for the press, and it is certainly curious that of the seven fully divided plays in the fourteen comedies four should be placed at the beginning and two at the end. On the other hand, why should *As You Like It* be so treated and not the five comedies which precede it or the two which follow it? Or why *Macbeth* and not the six tragedies which precede it and the one which follows it? It is reasonable to suppose that some of the available manuscripts were already divided into acts and scenes before they were revised (if they were revised) for the press.¹

3. Those stage-directions in *Barnaveit* which are in Crane's handwriting give little information apart from mere statements of exits and entrances. Only in one place—v. i. '2 Chaires'—do they suggest a playhouse origin: for we must dismiss 'within', 'above', and even 'A Bar brought in'² and 'a Scaffold put out' as non-committal. The practical directions are added by the stage-manager. In Crane's other transcripts the directions never smack of the theatre. Occasionally they

¹ Two of the fully divided plays (*Richard II*, *1 Henry IV*) are reprinted from corrected copies of earlier editions: the others are printed from MSS.

² I cannot agree with Miss Frijlinck that these four words are in another hand.

are descriptive, and have a literary flavour. For example, in *Demetrius and Enanthe*, iv. iii: 'Enter a Magitian wth a Bowle in his hand. He seemes to Coniure: sweete Musique is heard, and an Antick of litle Fayeries enter, & dance about y^e Bowle, and fling in things, & Ex^t.' Again, in *A Game at Chess* (Lansdowne 690), iv. iii: 'Enter y^e Black Q^s. Pawne (wth a Tapo^r in her hand) and Conducts the White Q^s. Pawne (in her Night Attire) into one Chamber: And then Conuaies the Black B^s. Pawne (in his Night habit) into an other Chamber: So putts out the Light, and followes him.' It is significant that the private transcripts contain no such direction as '2. Chaires'. A skilled scrivener like Crane would not be likely to allow so theatrical a signpost to appear in a private transcript. We cannot, however, regard it as significant that *Demetrius and Enanthe*, *A Game at Chess*, and to a less extent *The Witch* contain directions more full and more literary than those in *Barnavelt*. The explanation is rather that these plays afford more opportunity for descriptive directions. *A Game at Chess* has a dumb show, *Demetrius and Enanthe* a magician and an antick of fairies, *The Witch* witches and black magic. The descriptions of these spectacles are part of the book of the play and may well have appeared in playhouse MSS. as well as in these private transcripts, though they were sometimes perhaps deleted as unnecessary by the book-holder. The directions in *The Second Maiden's Tragedy* (Lansdowne 807), a playhouse manuscript in a scrivener's hand not unlike Crane's, are much more elaborate than in any of Crane's transcripts. *The Tempest*, which of all the plays in the First Folio of Shakespeare is richest in descriptive directions, may well have been printed from a playhouse manuscript. We must attribute these literary directions to the dramatist, rather than to a scribe, or the playhouse, or an editor.

The stage-directions in MS. Malone 25 stand by themselves, and I cannot match them in any other MS. Descriptive

directions, like 'Noice within', 'Musique', 'he appeeres Black underneath', appear at the appropriate places, but statements of entrances are massed together at the head of each scene. Thus the direction at the head of Act 1, Scene 1 is: 'The white-Queenes, & y^e Black-Queenes Pawnes. Then y^e Black Bishop's Pawne: Then y^e whi: Bishop's Pawne, & y^e Bl. Knights Pawne, Then y^e Black-knight, Then y^e wh. Kings Pawne.' The Black Bishop's Pawn enters at l. 26, the White Bishop's Pawn at l. 141, the Black Knight's Pawn at l. 147, the Black Knight at l. 175, and the White King's Pawn at l. 241; but these entrances are indicated only at the head of the Scene. In the First Folio of Shakespeare the entrances in two plays—*The Two Gentlemen of Verona* and its successor in the Folio, *The Merry Wives*—are massed together at the head of each scene¹ and not marked at the appropriate places (except for 'Enter Fairies' in *The Merry Wives*, v. v. 34). Unlike MS. Malone 25 these plays contain no descriptive directions. Mr. J. Dover Wilson and Mr. R. Crompton Rhodes have independently advanced the theory that the texts of these two Shakespearian plays were assembled from the piecemeal parts of the actors with the help of the theatrical 'plots'. The stage-directions, if we compare them with the dramatic plots and the player's part of Orlando printed by Dr. Greg in *Henslowe Papers*, do not forbid us to apply this theory to MS. Malone 25: and the fact that the playhouse copy was confiscated by the authorities is an argument in its favour. On the other hand, the printed texts and the Lansdowne and Trinity MSS., in which the notation of entrances is normal,² certainly represent

¹ Most scenes in *The Winter's Tale* are so treated, but often the entrances are also noted at the points of entry. This play contains a few descriptive directions of which the most famous is 'Exit pursued by a Beare'.

² I have not seen the Bridgewater-Huntington MS. From the four pages of which I have photostats it looks as if the entrances are marked in the usual way.

the original version of the play. If the textual evidence shows that MS. Malone 25 is based on any of these, we may have to explain the anomaly by assuming some causal connexion between the abridgement of a text and the massing of entrances. Anyhow it is curious that Crane did not mark the entrances in the usual manner. Even if he was transcribing from the players' parts, the task was not beyond his capacity. And Mr. William Hammond would then have found his manuscript easier reading.

V

It would have been pleasant to end this article with evidence so conclusive as to establish beyond cavil which printed texts were set up from Crane's transcripts. But to do this we must know what it may never be possible to know: how far he departed from his originals, how far his practice differed from that of contemporary scriveners, and how much to allow for the normalizing habits of the printer. A detailed examination of Crane's manuscripts, however, of the handwriting, of the spelling, of the punctuation, might well yield more interesting results than those outlined above. The work of a man who was scrivener to the King's players in 1619 and perhaps earlier, and was still making transcripts of their plays in 1625, is clearly worth investigation. For the possibility is established that among the manuscripts from which the Jaggards printed the First Folio one or more may have been in his handwriting.

[NOTE. I regret that until my article was in print I did not know of the note on Crane published by the late Professor Thornton S. Graves of the University of North Carolina in *Studies in Philology*, xxi (April 1924). Professor Graves quoted extracts from the preface to *The Workes Of Mercy*, but he was too far removed from the necessary materials to do more.]

NOTES ON OLD BOOKS

By W. W. GREG

The Order of Printing the Formes



It has, I believe, been repeatedly observed, and is indeed obvious, that in setting a book from manuscript (and in any but a page-for-page reprint) the composition of the inner forme of any sheet must be complete before that of the outer. There is, however, less evidence, at least of early date, as to the order in which the formes were actually printed. Some interest may therefore attach to the following instance, though, of course, it only shows what was done in an isolated case.

There is in the Eton College Library a copy of the 1623 collection of the works of Samuel Daniel, in which a curious accident happened to the leaf K 1. Looking at the verso, a tear is observable, and it is clear that the paper was torn after the page had been printed, for the lines of type are disturbed. The leaf has been mended by a patch stuck on to the recto, and the patch was stuck on before this page was printed, for the impression is over the patch. It is evident, therefore, that in this case the inner forme was printed first, that the sheet was then torn and mended, and lastly that it was perfected by the printing of the outer forme.

There is some intrinsic probability that this was the usual order. In the first place it allows printing to begin as soon as the inner forme is ready without waiting for the completion of the outer. In the second it allows a certain saving of type. Take the simplest case, which at the same time is that in which the saving is greatest, namely a folio in twos. Here the inner forme is complete and printing can begin when three out of

the four pages are set, and the outer forme can wait till the type of the inner has been distributed. Thus if the inner forme is printed first only three quarters as much type is needed as would be if the outer forme took precedence. Of course, the smaller the format (or the larger the gathering) the less the saving, since all except the last page of the sheet (or quire) has to be set up to complete the inner forme. But it may, nevertheless, have been a serious consideration in early times and in small printing-houses, and have thus given rise to what would appear to have been a common custom.

*'Certaine Learned and Elegant Workes of the Right Honorable
Fulke Lord Brooke', 1633*

That all known copies of the tiny folio containing the works of Fulke Greville lack the first three quires is familiar to every reader of booksellers' catalogues. A single blank precedes (or should precede) the unsigned leaf bearing on the recto the title and on the verso the table of contents, and the next leaf is the first of quire 'd'. Clearly three quires, presumably of four leaves each, have been cancelled, and the table of contents, which agrees with the volume in its present state, has been made to conform. The pagination shows eleven leaves missing, whence we may conclude that the cancelled matter filled a-c⁴, and that preliminaries occupied a 1, the text and pagination beginning on a 2. The volume is in two parts, the second having upper-case signatures, and these likewise begin with D, but since in this case D 1 recto is paged '1' it is clear that nothing is missing, but that the signatures of the second part were accommodated to those of the truncated first part. It follows that the first three quires of the first part were suppressed before the composition of the second part was begun.

It is generally assumed that the matter thus withdrawn was the 'Treatise of Religion' subsequently printed in Brooke's

Remains of 1670. This is unquestionably correct. Religion has at all times been a topic of danger; the 'Treatise' in question consists of 114 six-line stanzas, which would just fill the missing twenty-two pages; and the matter is clinched by the licence of Sir Henry Herbert. This was fortunately copied by Malone and runs as follows: 'Received from Henry Seyle for allowinge a booke of verses of my lord Brooks, entitled Religion, Humane Learning, Warr, and Honor, this 17 of October 1632, in money, 1*l.* 0*s.* 0*d.* in books to the value of 1*l.* 4*s.* 0*d.*' (Variorum Shakespeare, 1821, iii. 231). Malone duly points out that the omission 'accounts for the defect of several leaves' in the 1633 folio, but mistakenly specifies them as twenty.

The collection was entered to Seyle in the Stationers' Register on 10 November following, and the entry recites the contents as found in the extant volume, omitting the 'Treatise of Religion'. Thus the decision to cancel the three quires was made between 17 October and 10 November 1632. But we have already seen that it was made during the printing of the volume and this must therefore have been at least partly finished before the entry in the Register. This is a point of some interest for it is not easy to get definite evidence as to the custom in this respect. That the printing was then complete it would be rash to assume, seeing that only just over three weeks had elapsed since the licence: were we able to do so we should have a case of a book published about the middle of November and dated the following year. This I believe to have been a common, if not the common, practice, but it is very difficult to find instances in which the evidence is conclusive.

There are two other points of interest about the entry in the Register. One is that Seyle was able to get the whole copy containing two plays and several other distinct works through for a single sixpenny fee. The other (unique so far as I know)

is that the single complex entry incorporates a transfer of copy from another stationer, for among the items mentioned is 'The Tragedy of Mustapha, (by Assignment from m^r Butter).' Transfers of this sort were generally treated more ceremoniously than ordinary entries; they often required the consent of the Court of Assistants, and are habitually recited at length.

Machiavel's 'Florentine History', 1674

Very little seems to be known of John Dancer, described in the *Dictionary of National Biography* as a translator who flourished in 1675. I should have rather thought that he faded that year, for it is the last in which he is heard of. Till lately I only knew his name as the perpetrator of an inferior version of Tasso's *Aminta*. This, his first work to get printed, was published by John Starkey in 1660 (it is one of the very few books having a printer's signature—A 2—on the title) and was still on sale, 'price bound 1s. 6d.', fifteen years later, being advertised at the end of an anonymous translation (said to be by Henry Nevile) of Machiavel's collected Works, published by Starkey in 1675. That Dancer had any hand in Nevile's translation there is, so far as I am aware, no evidence; but if he had, or was supposed to have had, it would account for a curious accident that happened a few months before. The Works were advertised in the Term Catalogue in February 1675: in the preceding issue, November 1674, appeared a notice of a translation, also anonymous, of the *Florentine History*. This was duly published by Charles Harper and John Amery, and the version is neither that of Beddingfield (1595) nor of Nevile: the epistle dedicatory is signed by the translator with the initials 'M. K.' In this form the book is quite common. But there has lately come into my hands a copy similar in every way to those usually met with, except that in place of the initials 'M. K.' appears the name 'John

Dancer'. I have made some inquiry—not, it is true, very exhaustive—but have been unable to hear of any other copy in this state. I conclude that Dancer's name was placed there in error and removed before the bulk of the impression was printed. Who 'M. K.' was does not appear to be known.

The book, an octavo, is something of a curiosity bibliographically. For a reason hard to guess, the printer seems to have thought it necessary to begin a fresh alphabet of signatures with each 'Book'—and there are eight of them. But of course a Book does not, except accidentally, end with a sheet or even a half-sheet, so that there are found in several places single-sheet quires of which some leaves bear one signature-letter and some another. Book VI does end a sheet, and Book II a half-sheet. In the other five places we find the following anomalous quires: Books I-II, F 1-5 + 2 A 1-3 (followed by a quire signed 2 B); Books III-IV, 3 E 1-6 + 4 A 1-2 (followed by a quire signed 4 A 3-10 !); Books IV-V, 4 E 1 + 5 A 1-7; Books V-VI, 5 F 1-2 + 6 A 3-8 (!); Books VII-VIII, 7 E 1-5 + 8 A 1-3. Each Book is paged separately.

NOTES ON THREE INCUNABULA ACQUIRED BY THE BRITISH MUSEUM

By VICTOR SCHOLDERER



AMONG the books acquired during the year 1925 by the British Museum the three following incunabula are deserving of notice :

1. Antoninus. *Summa confessionum* (Defecerunt), s. n. 4to. Pellechet 827. Copinger 500. IB. 17610.

On the last page of the Museum copy the rubricator, who wrote a very peculiar hand, has inscribed with red majuscules the following sentence (contractions resolved) :

Actus et finitus est liber iste Rome anno gratie 1472 5^o idus Agusti [sic] sedente Xisto pontifice maximo quem codicem fieri iussit [sic] magister Petrus Gundisalui de la Tore [sic] ordinis Praedicatorum conuentus Burgensis in Hispania.

No one unacquainted with this note would hesitate to assign a Venetian origin to the book, which is printed with a roman fount practically indistinguishable from the earliest used by Adam de Ambergau at Venice except for the addition of a very long-tailed and ugly contraction for '-us'. The manuscript attribution to Rome, however, is confirmed by the watermark of a stepping hound on the very large quarto sheets of which the book consists—a closely similar mark being given as Roman by Briquet (no. 3645, 'Rome, vers 1469'). As the type appears to have been last used by Adam in 1471, we may infer that it was acquired immediately afterwards and transferred to Rome by the printer of the Antoninus.

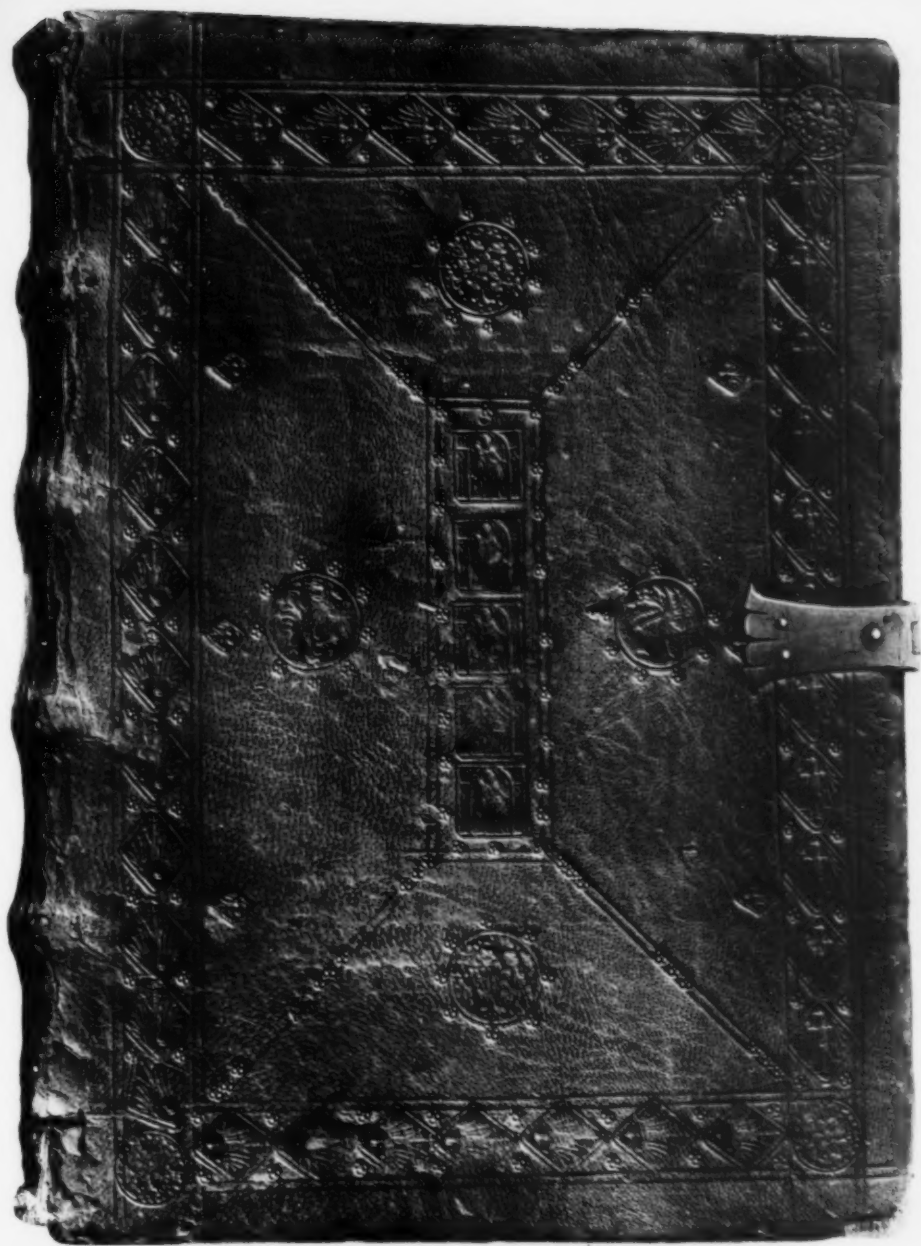
Pedro, son of Gonzalo de la Torre, or Pedro Gonzalez de la Torre—the form 'Gundisalui' permits of either interpreta-

tion—is no doubt the same person as the Magister Petrus de Turre (de la Torre) who already has his place in the history of early printing at Rome, where he put his name in the colophons of the notable edition of Ptolemy with maps partly engraved by Pannartz dated 4 November 1490 (Hain *13541, B.M.C. iv, p. 133) and of four short tracts published in 1497 and 1499. Two of the latter, it may be noted, have a Spanish connexion, being editions of the pamphlet *De morbo gallico* written by the Valencian Gaspar Torrella, Bishop of Santa Giusta in Sardinia, in his capacity of papal physician (Hain 15557, 15558). But that their printer was a Spanish Dominican of the convent of Burgos we should not have known save for the manuscript note quoted above. By virtue of the date 'not after 9 August, 1472' assignable to the *Antoninus* De la Torre advances from the thirty-fifth to the eighth or ninth place in the chronological sequence of printers at Rome.

The Museum copy is presumably identical with no. 141 in 'Rosenthal, Cat. lx' from which Copinger derived his entry, but the latter quotes the 'interesting MS. subscription' in a form so mutilated as to be unintelligible.

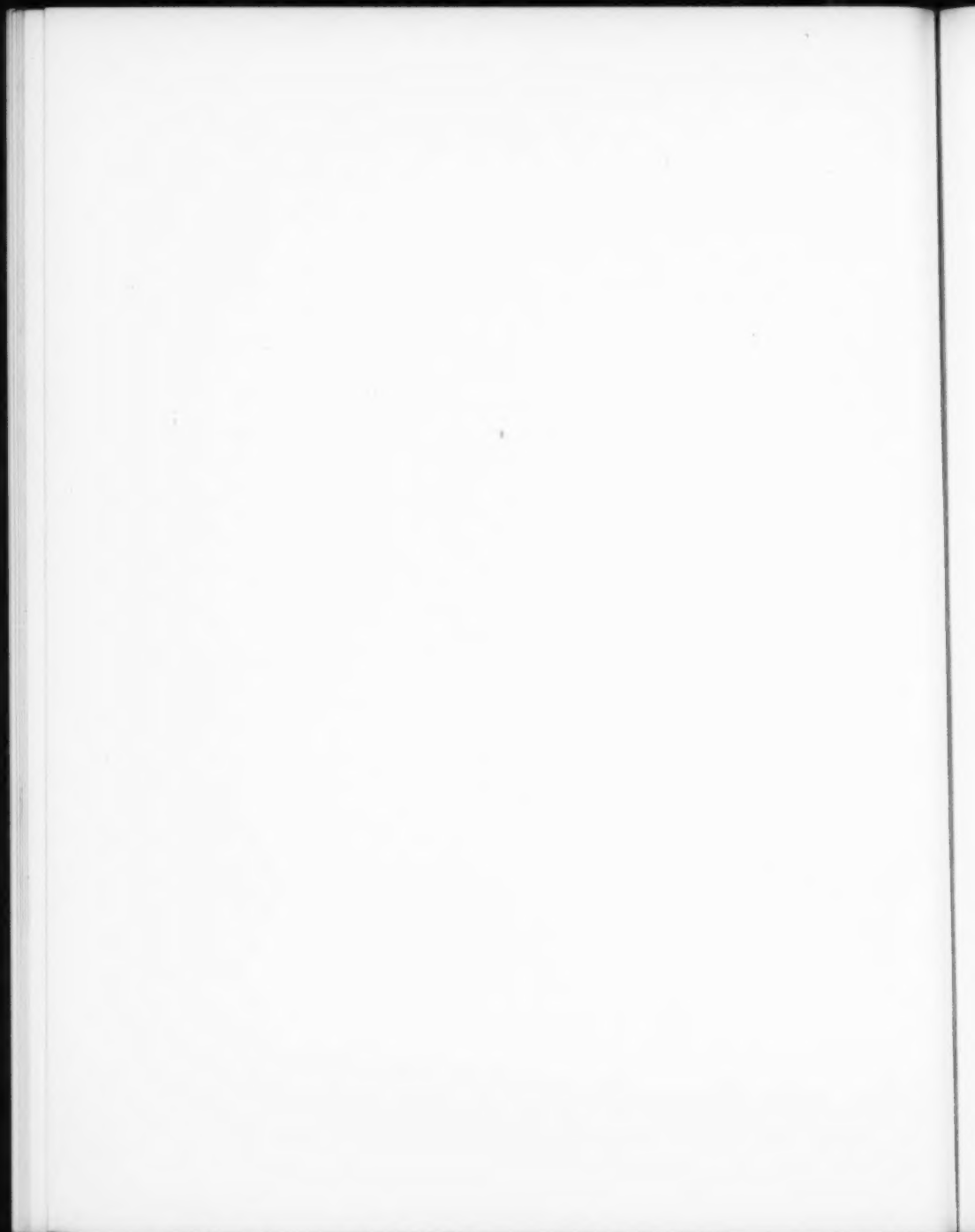
2. Bonaventura, *Tractatus et libri quamplurimi*. M. Flach, Strasburg, 31 October, 1489. Fol. Hain *3465. IB. 2137.

This is in a contemporary binding of dark brown calf, the top cover of which is stamped with the design here reproduced. A stamp five times repeated of the Virgin and Child in a niche or archway forms the central decoration, above and below is a medallion with floral work, to the left one with a heraldic lion, to the right another with a crowned swan or similar bird. Repetitions of a lozenge with an eagle make up the border, which is linked to the central design by diagonal lines. The lower cover is divided by similar lines into lozenges, each containing one medallion, the designs found on the top cover recurring, together with representations of a dragon and an organ; the border is again mostly made up of the eagle-lozenge.



BONAVENTURA: TRACTATUS. STRASBURG, M. FLACH, 1489

Bound by the Carthusians at Treves



The clue to the provenance of this remarkably tasteful and well-balanced piece of work is given by an inscription in the top cover running: 'Iste liber pertinet Carthusiensibus extra muros Treuerenses', for there is preserved in the Stadtbibliothek of Treves a manuscript (MS. 699/261) also belonging to the local Charterhouse of St. Alban, the binding of which bears the same stamps disposed in an almost identical design. Dr. Kentenich, the librarian, who has kindly supplied this information, is of opinion that both bindings were probably executed by the Carthusians themselves, and the same may perhaps be true of another handsome binding in a different style which covers an incunable presented to the same house before 1487 and which is illustrated on pl. xxxvi of the recent Lagerkatalog no. 725 of Messrs. Joseph Baer & Co.

3. P. Vergilius Maro, Opera, s. n. fol. Copinger, Supplement, no. 5998, Incunabula Virgiliana, nos. 3, 4. IB. 26327.

This book is printed with a large and distinctive roman fount used in various states by a number of Milanese printers from 1477 to 1481, as the following table shows:

Printer.	Year.	20 lines measure	Proctor's numeration.
J. de Marliano	1477	125 mm.	press 11, type 1
D. de Vespolate			
(a) with D. Paravisinus	1478	117-18 mm.	press 7, type —
(b) with J. de Marliano	1479	125 mm.	press 7, type —
Bonus Accursius	[1478]	119-20 mm.	press 13, type 1
Bonus Accursius	1480, 1481	125-7 mm.	press 13, type 1
J. and A. de Honate	1480	108 mm.	press 10, type 1

As the type of the Virgil agrees both in measurement and in state of face with the last named, the book was no doubt executed by the firm of De Honate in or about the year 1480. The type seems to show to most advantage on the shortest body, and this edition unquestionably ranks among the finest of the early Virgils.

A complete copy should contain 234 leaves, the first blank, sig. a-o o-z aa-dd⁸ ee¹⁰; the Museum copy is slightly imperfect. Thirty-eight lines go to a page, and the breadth of the type-page is 105 mm. Besides the *Eclogues*, *Georgics*, and *Aeneid*, the book comprises Maphaeus Vegius' continuation of the *Aeneid*, the minor poems, the *Aetna*, and the *Priapeia*.

Only two copies besides that in the Museum appear to be now known—one in the library of Princeton University, the other at Bamberg; from the latter Professor Haebler has described the type separately as that of the Bamberg Virgil (*Typenrepertorium*, iv, pp. 174, 175). The Museum copy was formerly in the Pembroke Library.

REVIEWS

Specimens of Books Printed at Oxford with the types given to the University by John Fell. Oxford: at the Clarendon Press in the Centenary Year 1925. pp. viii, 128. Three guineas net.

THE purpose of this volume is, as we learn from the preface, firstly to do honour to John Fell, and secondly to furnish students of printing with convenient examples of the famous types which have come to bear his name. It certainly fulfils this twofold purpose. It is a most handsome and worthy tribute to the memory of one of the greatest benefactors of the Oxford University Press, while at the same time it serves to bring home to us that whatever high hopes Bishop Fell may have had in making his bequest, they have been very amply realized in the work of the press which he did so much to establish. That it will be of use to students of typography goes without saying, but there is another way in which the book will especially interest many members of the Bibliographical Society.

We have recently listened to a discussion on the reproduction of early books in facsimile. Now there are of course two principal ways in which a book can be reproduced. Either we can facsimile our original, by photographic or other methods, as nearly as possible as it now appears with all the blemishes of age and accident upon it, or we can remake it from the beginning, setting it in type as exactly as possible resembling that first used, and print it on good paper with all the neatness and regularity of modern press-work; in short, we can reproduce it in 'type-facsimile'. By the one method we shall produce something which in many respects is inferior to our original even at present, and which is probably much inferior to that original as it came from the printer; by the other method something better. Which method is preferable in any

particular case depends on the purpose of the reproduction, and it is not of course by any means always that the second is practicable. We cannot make a type-facsimile of an incunable, for the necessary type does not exist and the expense of cutting punches and casting it would generally be prohibitive. The true occasion for this method is in such a book as the one before us, when the purpose is not to reproduce a text but rather a design, to show not so much what the original printers did, as what they tried to do and what, had they possessed the resources of to-day, they would have done. When, as in the present case, it is possible to use type actually cast from the original matrices the method is not only justified but results in a work of very great interest.

Most of those who examine the pages here displayed will, I am sure, agree with me that the Fell type is better than they thought it was. Especially is this the case with the various sizes of italic, which look unexpectedly well in the mass. I confess that, for my own part, I have always disliked the smaller sizes of Fell italic when used as a differential type in roman texts. It has, at least to my mind, an odd suggestion of mixed founts, and even here in the specimens given on p. 79 of this book from Mr. Dobrée's *Restoration Comedy*, I find it difficult to convince myself that the C of *The Country Wife* on 'p. 81' is really small pica, while that of *Chedreux* near the foot of 'p. 73' is long primer. But certainly the varied slopes of the letters, which seem to be unpleasantly accentuated when we have single words among the strictly vertical roman, are far less noticeable in a page printed entirely in italic. At the same time it must be conceded that the Fell italic accords better in colour with its roman than is the case with many other italic founts.

The specimens here given of course show the Fell type to the best advantage, and the best is very good, but it may be noted that there is considerable difference between the dif-

ferent sizes. The best of all is, I think, the double pica (pp. 10 and 11), for the peculiarly large v, x (and z), which to some extent disfigure the great primer (see 'hazard', 'foever', and 'perplexity' near the foot of p. 7) are not here apparent, and the h and ft are upright. In the two pages 112-13, one of which is solid and comparatively widely spaced, while the other is leaded and narrow spaced, I should give my vote for the former as on the whole more readable as well as more pleasant in appearance.

The preface refers to Horace Hart's study of the Fell type in his *Century of Typography*, 1900, but it is to be wished that for convenience of reference a brief summary of the facts had been given here, especially in regard to the pica. The typespecimen of 1693 includes a pica 'Bought by the University 1692' as well as another which is presumably the type presented by Fell. This latter, though matrices of both roman and italic and some punches of the roman still exist, seems not to have been cast in modern times, and it is the other, the 'bought' type, which is used in the book before us and, I suppose, in all modern 'Fell' books printed in pica. It is also apparently the 'Fell pica' in the specimen given in *Some Account of the Oxford University Press*, 1922, though its claim to this description seems at least doubtful.

The get-up of the book is admirable. Pages of smaller size than folio are cut out and mounted on a dark mount, the only possible way of giving them anything like their actual appearance in a book. I am not sure that *pairs* of pages mounted flat in this way are quite right, as one misses the effect of the fold in the inner margin: an 'opening' never looks flat like this. But it is difficult to see how else they could have been treated unless they had been folded and only one leaf attached to the mount, a method which in practice is most inconvenient however sound it may be in theory.

R. B. McK.

Chronicles and Annals, a brief outline of their origin and growth. By REGINALD L. POOLE. Oxford: at the Clarendon Press, 1926. Cr. 8°, pp. 79 + two plates. 5s.

ANY one concerned with chronology and the technical aspect of historical record will find this small volume of absorbing interest. In it Dr. Poole traces the origin of annalistic writing to notes made in the Easter Tables. The controversy over the reckoning of the date of Easter was settled by the synod of Whitby in 664, and no doubt Tables for the Great Cycle of 532 years were then constructed, but the first authoritative treatise setting forth the method was that *de Temporum Ratione* written by Bede about 730. This, together with the Tables and a brief chronicle of the Six Ages which it includes, was carried far and wide by the Anglo-Saxon missionary monks and formed the starting-point for the continental chroniclers, particularly of the Frankish Annals. In England, too, although the record of the connexion seems less complete, the Easter Tables formed the framework within which grew the earliest form of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. Of the development and different recensions of this work Dr. Poole gives an interesting sketch, concluding his account with a similar outline of the Latin chronicles that succeeded and continued it. I am glad to notice his appreciative mention of what he calls 'Dr. Claude Jenkins's brilliant lecture on *The Monastic Chronicler*', another fascinating little book that appeared not long ago.

By way of introduction Dr. Poole gives a most valuable account of the origin of the Era, which is again connected with the construction of Easter Tables. It will surprise most readers who are not expert historians to learn that the Era of the Incarnation, the current A. D. reckoning, was not adopted as such until after the synod of Whitby, perhaps not till the publication of Bede's treatise already mentioned. 'It was the

discovery of this Era that made the revival of historiography possible, and it was beyond question an English discovery.¹

The Oxford Press should have been more careful to see that the collotypes were thoroughly dry before binding. In the copy before me they have off-set badly.

W. W. G.

The Chaucer Tradition. By AAGE BRUSENDORFF. Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press. V. Pio, Poul Branner, Copenhagen. pp. 510. 16s. net.

DR. BRUSENDORFF's study of Chaucer portraits and manuscripts breaks much new ground and is so full of good things that in the dearth of new work on Chaucer in this country it is a very stimulating and refreshing book to read. The position from which he starts is that a tradition which can be traced back to any one in a position to know is more trustworthy than literary or linguistic inductions. Thomas Gascoigne, who lived most of his life at Oxford and died there in 1458, was in a position to know the parentage of Thomas Chaucer, who had estates at Ewelme, the village to the south of Oxford now best known for the almshouse of which the Regius Professor of Medicine is the Master. Therefore when Gascoigne asserts that Thomas was the son of Geoffrey Chaucer the poet his statement is to be accepted, and since Thomas was a patron of Lydgate, and the second husband (William de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk) of his daughter Alice, another of Lydgate's favourers, statements by Lydgate, though he had no personal knowledge of Chaucer, also become important. Moreover, since Thomas Shirley, the copyist, was a friend of Lydgate's, his ascriptions of poems to Chaucer and notes as to their subject must also be received with respect. Once more, the Corpus MS. of *Troilus*, with a frontispiece¹ showing Chaucer reading his poem

¹ See *The Library* for last December, in which this picture, after being to some extent ignored for so long, was reproduced a few days before Dr. Brusendorff's book was sent out for review.

to an audience which includes the king and queen and possibly John of Gaunt, belonged to Anne Neville, granddaughter of John of Gaunt, and may well be a copy of an earlier manuscript executed for Gaunt himself, which would give contemporary authority to the picture. No doubt arguments of this kind may be pushed too far, but there is a healthy human element in them which makes them attractive.

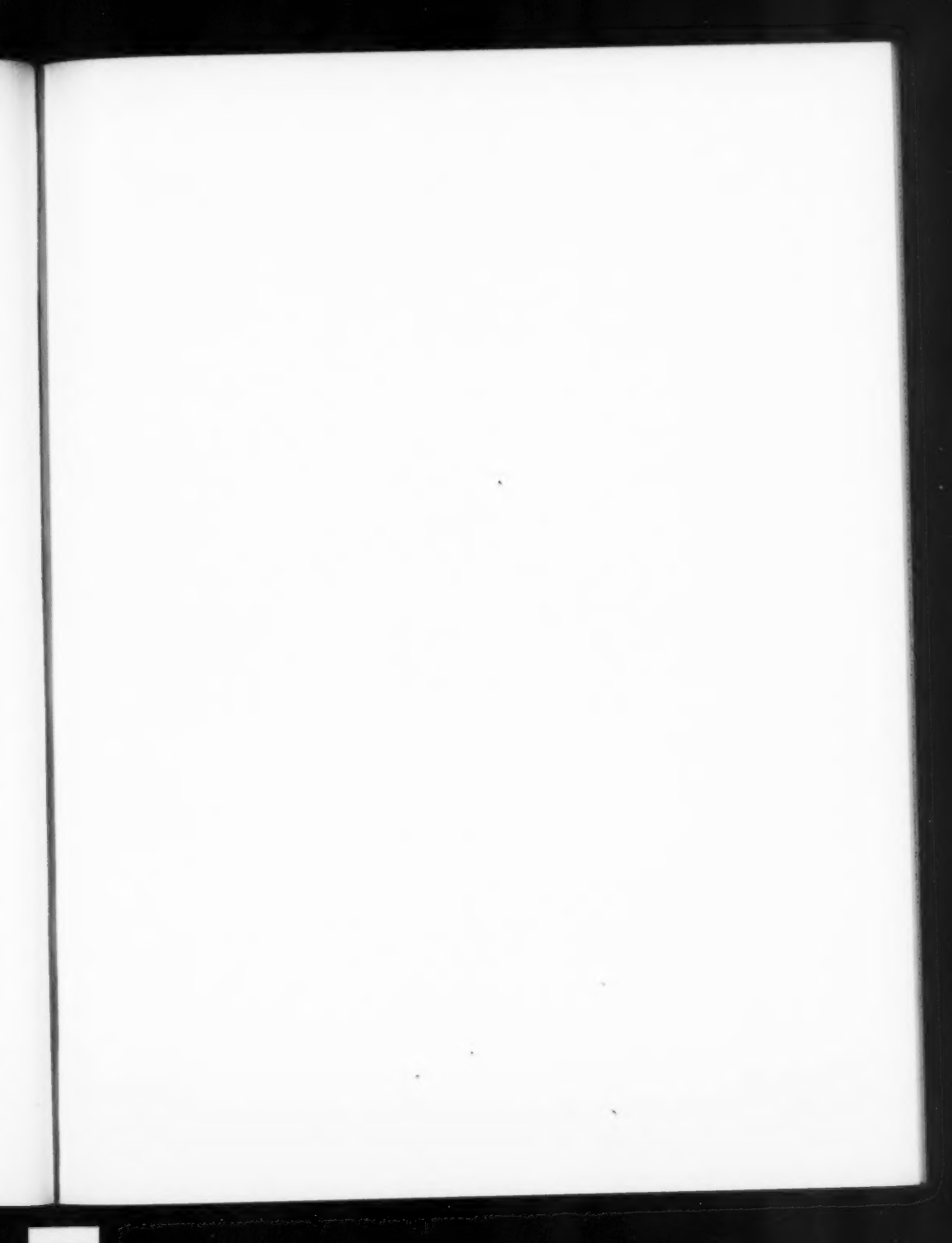
Turning to the manuscripts, Dr. Brusendorff's respect for 'tradition', in contrast with the linguistic and rhyming tests to which Skeat unhappily assigned a positive as well as a negative importance, naturally finds most play in dealing with the minor poems, of which he excludes for lack of scribal testimony several which Skeat accepted as Chaucer's. His chapter on the manuscripts of the *Canterbury Tales* is made more difficult by the adoption of a nomenclature which divides them into an Oxford group and an All-England group, this latter having Cambridge and London sub-sections. No doubt when Dr. Brusendorff writes of *Oxford v. All-England* his language brings with it a pleasant flavour of the cricket-field, but it seems a pity to use local titles such as Oxford and London not because the manuscripts were written in these cities, but because the most important of them have drifted to the Bodleian and the British Museum. In default of any more appropriate terminology it would have been better to distinguish each group by the names of its leading manuscripts. To account for the unsatisfactory condition of the framework of the *Tales* Dr. Brusendorff invents (I think the word is justified) a 'literary executor' to Chaucer and assigns to him considerable activity. I should like more proof.

In dealing with *Troilus* Dr. Brusendorff argues strongly against the textual theories of Dr. Root whose edition has since appeared. As to the *Hous of Fame* he offers a brilliant argument to show that the poem was written not in 1383 but immediately after 10 December 1380, and that its apparently

unfinished condition is due only to the accidental loss of a single leaf. As to the *Romaunt of the Rose* he has an equally brilliant, but perhaps not quite so convincing, hypothesis that the inequalities in the extant fragment are due to the variable memory of a reciter who put down on paper all that he could remember of the passages he was used to repeating. These and other suggestions (and there are many others of interest) must be dealt with as they deserve in reviews more especially concerned with English literature and philology. For our bibliographical readers, however, it is necessary to call attention (i) to the revelation that John Shirley the fifteenth-century copyist kept something in the nature of a circulating library of volumes of miscellaneous composition to which he prefixed advertisements in verse in recommendation of their contents, (ii) to his theory (which he proceeds to treat as a fact) that Chaucer handed over his autograph manuscripts, notably of *Troilus*, to some stationer who paid him for them with copies to present to his patrons, making a profit for himself by manufacturing further copies for sale. As to Shirley's circulating library, the evidence seems to leave no doubt of its existence, and it is so interesting that a separate monograph might well be devoted to it. The theory as to Chaucer's relations with a stationer is no less interesting and should also receive further development. A similar suggestion was advanced years ago by Mr. H. B. Wheatley (*The Prices of Books*, 1898, p. 2), and that such a method of payment grew up may be argued from Dr. McKerrow's article in *The Gentleman's Magazine* showing that an Elizabethan hack-writer made his profits, such as they were, in this way. But that the system was in existence in England as early as the reign of Richard II seems doubtful, partly because of its inapplicability to other writers of the period (it does not seem to suit the cases of Gower, Langland, or Wyclif), partly because if it obtained we might reasonably expect more fourteenth-century manuscripts to have survived.

It may be gathered that Dr. Brusendorff is likely to be accused of temerity, and his theories are so bold and so interesting that his book (like the 'new' Cambridge Shakespeare for the same reason) will probably be made a target for criticism for many years, and receive a real tribute to its excellence by being 'praised by withstanding'. At any rate temerity is a better fault than the timidity of which Dr. Brusendorff convicts me in several foot-notes in not acting on, or pressing home, my own convictions. I am inclined to think that my timidity may have been due to a too assiduous study of Dr. Skeat's notes and introductions when I was a boy. At an Oxford and Cambridge School examination just half a century ago I got (if my memory serves me) 98 marks out of a possible 100 on a Chaucer paper which according to the fashion of the day was doubtless more concerned with Skeat than with Chaucer. I mention the fact because the partial mental paralysis which naturally followed appears to be widely spread among English students, whose failure in recent years to do any original work on Chaucer may be due to the same cause. For this excessive readiness to accept Skeat's (admirable) edition as final Dr. Brusendorff's book may be prescribed as an excellent remedy.

A. W. POLLARD.



of printing of this story cost my father
 first given to Secret man —
 given to Mr. B. —
 is not for your best —
 paid your money —

 for 2 copies to make in —
 to Light for record of —
 to you for returning it —
 for a blank in 2 p/8 —

1. John Parker's Memorandum. Corpus Christi College